

The Journal  
OF  
PHILOLOGY.

*EDITED BY*

W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.  
INGRAM BYWATER, M.A.  
AND  
HENRY JACKSON, LITT. D.

VOL. XXIX.

London :  
MACMILLAN AND CO. LTD.  
Cambridge : MACMILLAN AND BOWES.  
DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO

1904

PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.



# CONTENTS.

No. LVII.

|                                                                                                                  | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Notes on Diogenes Laërtius. JOHN E. B. MAYOR . . . .                                                             | 1    |
| The Orthography of Martial's Epigrams. W. M. LINDSAY . .                                                         | 24   |
| Fulgentiana. ROBINSON ELLIS . . . . .                                                                            | 61   |
| Aristotle's Conception of Chemical Combination. HAROLD H.<br>JOACHIM . . . . .                                   | 72   |
| The Formation of the Julian Calendar, with reference to the Astro-<br>nomical Year. J. K. FOTHERINGHAM . . . . . | 87   |
| The Date of the Crucifixion. J. K. FOTHERINGHAM . . . .                                                          | 100  |
| E. B. Cowell. C. W. M. . . . .                                                                                   | 119  |
| The Hamburg Stadtbibliothek Codex No. 1. CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG                                                   | 126  |
| On some passages in Aristotle's <i>Metaphysics</i> A. HENRY JACKSON .                                            | 139  |

## No. LVIII.

|                                                                                                                           | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Notes on Quintilian Book X. JOHN E. B. MAYOR . . . . .                                                                    | 145  |
| Notes on the MSS. of Prudentius. E. O. WINSTEDT . . . . .                                                                 | 166  |
| On Fronto. ROBINSON ELLIS . . . . .                                                                                       | 181  |
| Enoch and Clement. C. TAYLOR . . . . .                                                                                    | 185  |
| Notes on the Pronunciation of Greek as deduced from Græco-Indian<br>bilingual coins, B.C. 180-20. CECIL BENDALL . . . . . | 199  |
| Emendationes Homericæ ( <i>Od.</i> xx—xxiv). T. L. AGAR . . . . .                                                         | 202  |
| Metrical Stopgaps in Statius' Thebaid. H. W. GARROD . . . . .                                                             | 253  |
| The Hebrew Verb ברא "to create." A. A. BEVAN . . . . .                                                                    | 263  |
| Some Remarks on the later Platonism. R. D. ARCHER-HIND . . . . .                                                          | 266  |

# THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

## NOTES ON DIOGENES LAËRTIUS.

I § 1 Egyptian prophets Menage on III 6. Jan on Macrobian Sat. VII 13 9.

§ 27 τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη Stallbaum on Plat. legg. 899 b ad fin.

§ 28 βόλον Plut. Solon 4 § 2 Κῶων γὰρ, ὡς φασι, καταγόντων σαγήνην καὶ ξένων ἐκ Μιλήτου πριαμένων τὸν βόλον οὐπω φανερόν ὄντα, χρυσοῦς ἐφάνη τρίπους ἐλκόμενος, ὃν λέγουσιν Ἑλένην πλέουσιν ἐκ Τροίας αὐτόθι καταθεῖναι χρησμοῦ τινος ἀναμνησθεῖσαν παλαιοῦ. cf. §§ 4—7. schol. Aristoph. Plut. 9. equit. 1016 (p. 415—6 Didot).

§ 33 Saying of Thales (or Sokrates) ἔφασκε γάρ, φησί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει καὶ οὐ θηρίον· εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή· τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλληνας καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. Plut. Mar. 46 § 1 Πλάτων μὲν οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷ γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, εἶτα Ἕλληνας, οὐ βάρβαρος οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνοις ἀπήντησεν ἡ γένεσις αὐτοῦ. Lact. III 19 § 17 non dissimile Platonis illud est, quod aiebat se gratias agere naturae: primum quod homo natus esset potius quam mutum animal, deinde quod mas potius quam femina, quod Graecus quam barbarus, postremo

quod Atheniensis et quod temporibus Socratis. Cf. de opificio Dei 3 § 19.

§ 36 fin. πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα βιώσαιμεν; “ἐὰν ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν.”

Isocr. ad Demonic. § 17 fin. μάλιστα δ' ἂν εὐδοκιμοίης, εἰ φαίνοιο ταῦτα μὴ πράττων, ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν πράττουσιν ἐπιτιμώης. id. Nicocles § 61 περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κατηγορήτε, μηδὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτηδεύετε. Cato dist. I 30 quae culpae soles, ea ne tu feceris ipse: | turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguat ipsum. Avian. fab. 3 11 12 nam stultum nimis est, cum tu pravissima temptes, | alterius censor ut vitiosa notes. comm. on S. Paul. Rom. 2 1—3.

§ 37 φίλων παρόντων καὶ ἀπόντων μεμνήσθαι. Isocr. ad Demonic. § 26 fin. τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων μέμνησο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ἵνα δοκῇς μηδὲ τούτων ἀπόντων ὀλιγωρεῖν. ibid. οὗς ἂν ἐράνους εἰσενέγκῃς, φησί, τοῖς γονεῦσι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων. Isocr. ibid. § 14 τοιοῦτος γίγνου πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς, οἷους ἂν εὖξαιο περὶ σεαυτὸν γενέσθαι τοὺς σεαυτοῦ παῖδας.

§ 57 ἂ μὴ ἔθου, μὴ ἀνέλῃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάνατος ἢ ζημία. Plat. legg. 844<sup>e</sup> ὃς δ' ἂν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα ὀπωρίζειν βούληται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λαμβάνῃ, ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὁπόταν βούληται καρπούσθω, ἐὰν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων μὴ πείσας, ἐπόμενος τῷ νόμῳ τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατέθετο, ἐκείνως αἰεὶ ζημιούσθω. 913<sup>c</sup> ὃς δ' ἂν παῖδων τε ἀκηδὴς γένηται καὶ τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον ἀμελήσας, ἂ μήτε αὐτὸς κατέθετο μήτε αὐτῶν πατέρων τις πατήρ, μὴ πείσας τὸν θέμενον ἀνέλῃται, κάλλιστον νόμων διαφθείρων καὶ ἀπλούστατον, καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἀγεννοῦς ἀνδρὸς νομοθέτημα, ὃς εἶπεν, ἂ μὴ κατέθου, μὴ ἀνέλῃ—τούτοιον δυοῖν νομοθέταιν καταφρονήσαντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον οὐ τι σμικρόν, ὃ μὴ κατέθετο αὐτός, ...τί χρὴ πάσχειν;

§ 58 ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἰδῶλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων. Simonides fr. 190 B Bergk (in Psell. περὶ ἐνεργ. δαιμ. p. 5) κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ὁ λόγος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκὼν ἐστίν. schol. Hermog. v 534 Walz ὁ Σωκράτης εἰώθει λέγειν, οἷος ὁ βίος, τοιοῦτος ὁ λόγος. Davies on Cic. Tusc. v § 47 p. 98 Moser. Dionys. Hal. de Lysia (Reiske orat. Att. VI 173) εἰκόνας τῶν ἡθῶν τοὺς

λόγους. Mayor (p. 341—2) on Clem. Al. str. vii § 100 p. 893. Rader on Mart. i 4 8. Basil ep. 9 1 pr. (iii 90<sup>b</sup>) εἰκόνες ὄντως τῶν ψυχῶν εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι.

ibid. ἀραχνίοις see Basil. hexaëm. vi 6 fin. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ σοφὰ τοῖς ἀραχνείοις ὑφάσμασιν ἔοικεν, οἷς ὅταν μὲν κώνωψ ἢ μυῖα ἢ τι τῶν παραπλησίως τούτοις ἀσθενῶν ἐνσχεθῇ, καταδεθέντα κρατεῖται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων τι ζῶων ἐγγίσῃ, αὐτό τε ῥαδίως διαπίπτει καὶ τὰ ἀδρανῆ ὑφάσματα διέρρηξε καὶ ἠφάνισε. Anacharsis in Plut. Solon 5 § 4. Plato com. Ἑλλάς fr. 1 (i 605 Kock) εἴξασιν ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι | τούτοις τοῖσι λεπτοῖς ἀραχνίοισιν ἃ | ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἢ φάλαγξ ὑφαίνε-  
ται.

§ 59 τὸν μὲν κόρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλούτου γεννᾶσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὕβριν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρου. See Liddell and Scott under κόρος. Solon fr. 8 Bergk. Diogenian. viii 22 n. Wesseling on Diod. Sic. vol. ii 600 44. Philo de Abrah. § 228 (iv 50 13 Cohn) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκορέσθησαν ἀγαθῶν, καί, ὅπερ φιλεῖ, κόρος ὕβριν ἐγέννησε. de vita Mosis ii § 13 (p. 203 13). § 164 (p. 238 15) γεννώσης ἀκρασίας μὲν κόρον, κόρου δὲ ὕβριν. Themist. p. 164 b. Basil. de ieiunio hom. i 9 (ii 9 a) καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς νηστείας ἀγαθὰ τοσαῦτα· ὁ δὲ κόρος ὕβρεων ἀρχή. ib. hom. 2 7 pr. (14 d).

§ 60 φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. Theognis 1151—2. Isocr. ad Demonic. § 24 βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίγνου, γενόμενος δὲ πειρῶ διαμένειν. Suet. Aug. 66 pr. amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit. Hor. s. i 9 56 difficilis aditus primos habet. ep. i 18 76—83. Sen. ep. 3 § 2. Polonius in Hamlet i 2 61—65.

ibid. ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι. Soph. Ant. 663 καλῶς μὲν ἄρχειν, εὖ δ' ἂν ἄρχεσθαι θέλειν. Plat. legg. 942<sup>c</sup> μελετητέον ἄρχειν τε ἄλλων ἄρχεσθαι θ' ὑφ' ἐτέρων. Xen. anab. i 9 § 4 ὥστε εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες μαθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Cyrop. i 6 § 20 καὶ οἱ νόμοι δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα δύο μάλιστα διδάσκειν, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Aristot. pol. vii (= iv) 14 pr. Plut. apophth. Lacon. Agesil. 50 (ii 212<sup>b</sup>) Ξενοφῶντα δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ σπουδαζόμενον, ἐκέλευε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τρέφειν μεταπεμφάμενον, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν μαθημάτων παιδευθησο-  
μένους, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. cf. Wyttenb. on 51 p. 212<sup>c</sup>.

Gataker on Anton. xi 29. Themist. p. 5<sup>b</sup> πρῶτον ἀρκτέον αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν. Davies on Cic. legg. III § 5. Otto Sprichwörter, s.v. *regere*, where for *Aristot. rhet.* read *Aristot. pol.*

§ 69 (of Chilo) ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, ἔφη, “ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς.” Isocr. ad Demonic. § 39 οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι τῶν ἀδίκων εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσιν. id. apophth. 8 Bens. ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίνι οἱ φιλόπονοι τῶν ῥαθύμων διαφέρουσιν, εἶπεν, “ὥς οἱ εὖσεβεῖς τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς.”

§ 70 ἀτυχοῦντι μὴ ἐπεγγελαῖν (cf. § 78 ἀτυχίαν μὴ ὀνειδίζειν). Isocr. ad Demonic. § 29 μὴδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς.

§ 76 χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι. Bergk (Poet. lyr. Gr. III<sup>4</sup> 386) on Simonides ver. 1116. Add [Diog.] ep. 51 εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸν κατὰ Σιμωνίδην χαλεπὸν, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι δὲ ῥάδιον.

§ 81 σῖτον ἀλεῖν Hermes xxv 225.

§ 98 εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, δυστυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος. Isocr. ad Demonic. § 42 νόμιζε μὴδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον· οὕτω γὰρ οὗτ’ εὐτυχῶν ἔσει περιχαρὴς οὕτε δυστυχῶν περίλυπος.

§ 118 χρῶ δῆλα. Synes. encom. calvit. 21 f ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φερεκύδης θοιμάτιον ἐπηλυγασάμενος, “χρῶ δῆλον,” ἔφη καὶ δακτύλῳ τὴν νόσον ἐδείκνυεν.

II § 16 καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ. See Stallbaum on Plat. legg. 889 e.

§ 31 ἐπῆναι σχολήν. See Paul Giraud, La main d’œuvre industrielle dans l’ancienne Grèce (Paris 1900) pp. 38. 46.

§ 32 εἰδέναι μὴδέν. Muncker on Fulgent. myth. I praef. p. 615 n. 8 Staveren.

§ 33 (§ 72. v 82) ἔλεγέ τε θαυμάζειν τῶν τὰς λιθίνας εἰκόνας κατασκευαζομένων τοῦ μὲν λίθου προνοεῖν ὅπως ὁμοιωτάτος ἔσται, αὐτῶν δ’ ἀμελεῖν, ὥς μὴ ὁμοίους τῷ λίθῳ φαίνεσθαι. Lucian somn. 13 χιτώνιον τι πιναρὸν ἐνδύσῃ καὶ σχῆμα δουλοπρεπὲς ἀναλήψῃ καὶ μοχλία καὶ γλυφεῖα καὶ κοπέας καὶ κολαπτῆρας ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν ἔξεις, κάτω νενεκῶς ἐς τὸ ἔργον, χαμαιπετῆς καὶ χαμαίζηλος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ταπεινός, ἀνακύπτων δὲ οὐδέποτε, οὐδὲ ἀνδρῶδες οὐδὲ ἐλευθέριον οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα ὅπως εὐρυθμα καὶ εὐσχήμονα ἔσται

σοι προνοῶν, ὅπως δὲ αὐτὸς εὐρυθμος καὶ κόσμιος ἔσῃ ἥκιστα πεφροντικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀτιμότερον ποιῶν σεαυτὸν λίθων. Becker-Göll Charikles I 60. Iuv. VIII 53 n.

§ 34 πρὸς τὸ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον πλήθος ἔφασκεν ὅμοιον εἶ τις τετράδραχμον ἐν ἀποδοκιμάζων τὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σωρὸν ὡς δόκιμον ἀποδέχοιτο. Xen. mem. III 7 §§ 5 6. Ael. v. h. II 1 καὶ ταῦτα Σωκράτους πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ μὲν ἡγωνία καὶ ἐδεδίδει πᾶν σφόδρα εἰς τὸν δῆμον παρελθεῖν, τὸ μεираκίον ἐπιθαρσύνων δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγείρων ὁ Σωκράτης, “οὐ καταφρονεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἐκείνου τοῦ σκυτοτόμου;” τὸ ὄνομα εἰπὼν αὐτοῦ. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὑπολαβὼν πάλιν ὁ Σωκράτης, “ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις κηρύττοντος ἢ ἐκείνου τοῦ σκηνορράφου;” ὁμολογοῦντός τε τοῦ Κλεινίου μεираκίου, “οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, “ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τοιούτων ἡθροισται· καὶ εἰ τῶν καθ' ἓνα καταφρονεῖς καταφρονητέον ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἡθροισμένων.” Cf. Cope Aristot. rhet. vol. II p. 199. Cic. fin. v § 104 an tibicines iique, qui fidibus utuntur, suo, non multitudinis arbitrio cantus numerosque modulantur, vir sapiens, multo arte maiore praeditus, non quid verissimum sit, sed quid velit vulgus, exquiret? an quicquam stultius quam, quos singulos sicut operarios barbarosque contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos? Plin. ep. VII 17 § 7 primum quae scripsi mecum ipse pertracto; deinde duobus aut tribus lego; mox aliis trado adnotanda notasque eorum, si dubito, cum uno rursus aut altero pensito; novissime pluribus recito, ac siquid mihi credis, tunc acerrime emendo. § 8 nam tanto diligentius quanto sollicitius intendo. optime autem reverentia pudor metus iudicant, idque adeo sic habe. nonne, si locuturus es cum aliquo quamlibet docto, uno tamen, minus commoveris, quam si cum multis vel indoctis? § 9 nonne cum surgis ad agendum, tunc maxime tibi ipse diffidis, tunc commutata, non dico plurima, sed omnia cupis? utique si latior scaena et corona diffusior: nam illos quoque sordidos pullatosque reveremur. § 10 nonne, si prima quaeque improbari putas, debilitaris et concidis? opinor, quia in numero ipso est quoddam magnum collatumque consilium, quibusque singulis iudicii parum, omnibus plurimum. § 11 itaque Pomponius Secundus (hic scriptor tragoediarum) siquid forte

familiarior amicus tollendum, ipse retinendum arbitraretur, dicere solebat 'ad populum provoco,' atque ita ex populi vel silentio vel assensu aut suam aut amici sententiam sequebatur. Chrys. hom. 17 ad Rom. (IX 627<sup>c</sup>) οὐς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας οὐδενὸς ἀξίους εἶναι νομίζεις, συλλεγέοντας τῆς σεαυτοῦ προτιμᾶς σωτηρίας καὶ πάντων ἐκείνων ἀτιμότερον σαυτὸν ἀποφαίνεις. Hieron. ep. 66 § 9 (I 400<sup>b</sup>) nostra quam dura sit necessitas, hinc potes animadvertere, quod vulgi standum est iudicio, et ille in turba metuendus, quem, cum videris solum, despicias.

§ 37 f. Sokrates the wisest of men. comm. on Plat. apol. 21<sup>a</sup>. Plin. VII §§ 118, 120; XXXIV § 26. Apul. de deo Socr. 17 pr. met. x 33 with Hildebrand's n. p. 977. Minuc. Fel. 13. Tert. apol. 46.

§ 42 "ἔνεκα μὲν," εἶπε, "τῶν ἐμοὶ διαπεπραγμένων τιμῶμαι τὴν δίκην τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως. Ambros. in ps. 118 serm. 16 § 11 et tamen ille ipse philosophiae summus, ut aiunt, magister, cum accusaretur, interrogatus qua tandem poena se dignum putaret, respondisse fertur, ut in Prytaneo publico quotidie convivio susciperetur.

§ 43 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν. Liddell and Scott do not illustrate this phrase under ἄνθρωπος or εἶμι or ἐκ (ἐξ). Under ἀφανίζω they quote Herodot. IV 95 (where the words are ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηϊκῶν ἠφανίσθη) and [Lys.] or. funebr. § 12 with Davies (Reiske or. Att. v 66). Evagr. h. e. IV 2 4. Philostr. vita Apoll. VIII 31 1 τοῦ δ' Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἤδη ὄντος. Galen XIV 235 K (a parallel to Hor. c. I 32 f.) ἐλομένη μάλλον ἔτι βασίλισσα οὐσα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι ἥπερ ἰδιώτης Ῥωμαίοις φανῆναι. Theodoret h. e. II 5 (synodical epistle) ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο βαπτισθείς. Paus. IV 26 6 καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένῃ, ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Θηβαῖε, ποιήσω μήποτε ἀνώνυμον μηδὲ ἄδοξον γενέσθαι. VI 6 10 ὡς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφυγὼν αὐθις ἕτερόν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων...ἀπέλθοι τρόπον. X 30 5 περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐν Νόστοις ἀπελθεῖν μὲν παρθένον ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Cf. IV 32 4 οὐ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὄντα. Iamblich. vit. Pythag. 35 § 253 διευλαβούμενοι δέ, μὴ παντελῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόληται τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα. Chion ep. 17 2 εἰ καταλύσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελεύσομαι. Eunap. vit. Prohaeresii ad fin. (493 41 Didot) Προαιρέσιος δὲ ἐξ

ἀνθρώπων ἀνεχώρει μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Isoer. panegy. 95 ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῶς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων ταῖς ὑπερεχούσαις λυσιτελεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλαις ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις. So id. Philipp. 108. Archidam. 18. Plut. Camill. 32 8. Wesseling on Diodor. vol. i p. 24 n. 70 (ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντα). For Latin parallels see Forcellini-Devit *homo* n. 21. Suet. Nero 33 (gruesome jeer at *divus Claudius*) morari cum dixisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur. Arn. v 28 cum inter homines esset adhuc Nysius et Semeleius Liber. The usual Latin rendering of 'he was not, for God took him,' 'he was no more seen,' used by Cato and Varro, unknown to Forcellini, is *non* (or *nusquam*) *comparuit*. See Rönisch *Italia und Vulgata* 350. J. v. d. Vliet in *Mnemosyne* xxii 1. Preller-Jordan. *Röm. Mythol.* i<sup>3</sup> 95—97. Add Tert. ad nat. ii 9 (p. 112 20 Reiff.) quid aliud Aeneae gloriosum, nisi quod proelio Laurentino nusquam comparuit? Quintil. decl. 388 visis piratis, relictus non comparuit. Apul. met. vii 2 pr. viii 16 f. 21 pm. ix 41 fin. flor. iii 16 p. 354 pr. Laet. v 3 9. m. p. 2 7 tyrannus impotens [Nero] nusquam repente comparuit. Clem. recogn. vii 20 nusquam terrarum ultra comparuit. Chronogr. A. D. 354 p. 645 Mommsen (= chron. minora, Berolin. 1892, i p. 144 6 of Romulus: subito nusquam comparuit). Rufin. h. e. vii 13 med. quae victima arte quadam daemonis subito nusquam comparebat. Aug. c. d. vi 7 (i 259 18 Dombart) populum Romanum etiam ipsa [Larentina] scripsit heredem, atque illa non comparente inventum est testamentum. xviii 19 (ii 281 3) sed Aenean, quoniam quando mortuus est non comparuit, deum sibi fecerunt Latini. id. in ps. 102 11 fin. hist. Apollon. Tyr. 7 bis: Apollonius reversus ab Antiochia subito nusquam comparuit. Greg. Tur. (ed. Arndt and Krusch) 523 27 haec effata, basilicam, de qua egressa fuerat, ingrediens, nulli ultra comparuit. 707 34 et discedens, nusquam comparuit.

§ 69 ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτε, τί πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, "ἐὰν μὲν πάντες οἱ νόμοι ἀναιρεθῶσιν, ὁμοίως βιώσονται." Aristot. pol. iii 13 p. 1284<sup>a</sup> 3. Hier. in ep. ad Gal. 5 22 (vii 513<sup>1</sup>) denique et sapientes mundi de philosophia sic

opinantur, ut quod leges publicae facere homines necessitate compellunt, hoc illa persuadeat fieri voluntate. Grotius and Wetstein on Rom. 2 14, 15. Philo de nobilitate 2 (II 438 fin. M) τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον οὔτε τοῖς ἀδίκους δίκαιοι γονεῖς, οὔτε ἀκολάστοις σώφρονες, οὔτε συνόλως ἀγαθοὶ πονηροῖς ὄφελος· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ὧν εἰσιν αὐτοὶ κολασταί, νόμοι δέ τινες ἂν εἶεν ἄγραφοι ἢ οἱ βίοι τῶν ζηλωσάντων ἀρετὴν.

Xenocrates in Plut. de virtute morali 7 p. 446 d (fr. 3 in *Xenokrates. Darstellung der Lehre und Sammlung der Fragmente von Richard Heintze*. Leipz. 1892, p. 160) τὸν Ξενοκράτους λόγον, ὃν ἐκεῖνος εἶπε περὶ τῶν ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφούντων, ὅτι μόνον ποιοῦσιν ἐκουσίως ἂ ποιοῦσιν ἄκοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διὰ τὸν νόμον ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς κύνες ἢ γαλεοὶ ψόφῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀποτρεπόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἀποβλέποντες. See many parallels (e.g. Diog. Laert. v § 20 from Aristotle). Cf. Julian or. I p. 47 a.

§ 102 like bold speech of Theodorus to a tyrant in Sen. de tranq. 14 § 3.

III § 7 all Egyptians physicians Wesseling on Diodor. I 82 (vol. I p. 92 25).

· § 39 τοῖς μεθύουσιν συνεβούλευε κατοπρίζεσθαι· ἀποστήσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσχημοσύνης. Sen. de ira II 36 § 1 quibusdam, ut ait Sextus, iratis profuit aspexisse speculum: perturbavit illos tanta mutatio sui: velut in rem praesentem adducti non agnoverunt se. et quantum ex vera deformitate imago illa speculo reperiussa reddebat? Plut. de cohibenda ira 6 p. 456 ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴ τις ἐμμελὴς καὶ κομψὸς ἀκόλουθος ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἡχθόμην αὐτοῦ προσφέροντος ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἔσοπτρον, ὥσπερ ἐνίοις προσφέρουσι λουσαμένοις ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρησίμῳ.

§ 80 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δ' ἐν σώματι, τὰ δ' ἐκτός. Stallbaum on Plat. legg. 697 b.

§ 83 τῆς δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἐστὶν εἶδη τρία· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ πρὸς θεούς, ἡ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποικομένους. Cic. n. d. I § 116 (where see Mayor) est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos. Cf. Cic. top. § 90. [Aristot.] de virt. et vit. (in Stob. III 1 142 ed. Hense) 5 § 2 ἔστι δὲ πρώτη τῶν δικαιοσυνῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, εἶτα πρὸς δαίμονας, εἶτα πρὸς

πατρίδα καὶ γονεῖς, εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀποικομένους· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἡ εὐσέβεια, ἥτοι μέρος οὐσα τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἢ παρακολουθούσα. § 3 ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ὁσιότης. [Plat.] defin. 412 e εὐσέβεια δικαιοσύνη περὶ θεοῦ. Ambr. on Luc. v 76 (p. 212 6 Schenkl) equidem ut audire me memini vel hoc solo pressum philosophiae supercilium putamus, quod in tres partes illa sibi videtur divisisse iustitiam, unam in deum, quae pietas vocatur, alteram in parentes vel reliquum humanum genus, tertiam in mortuos, ut his exsequiarum iusta solvantur.

iv § 7 ἀνδριάντος. Cf. Lucian bis acc. 21 f. Achill. Tat. v 22 with Jacobs p. 816.

§ 47 a saying of Bion not here recorded, in Theodoret. gr. aff. cur. vi 19 p. 88.

v § 31 φιλοσοφίας Davies on Cic. Tusc. iv § 70 conjectures φιλίας.

vi § 20 banished. see [Diog.] ep. 1.

§ 29 φησὶ δὲ Μένιππος ἐν τῇ Διογένους Πράσει ὡς ἀλοῦς καὶ πωλούμενος ἠρωτήθη τί οἶδε ποιεῖν. ἀπεκρίνατο, “ἀνδρῶν ἄρχειν.” Macrob. Sat. i 11 § 43. cf. Lact. iii 25 § 16.

§ 37 Basil. ep. 4 (iii 76 d) τὸν δὲ Διογένην οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατό ποτε θαυμάζων, τοῖς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως μόνοις ἀρκεῖσθαι φιλοτιμούμενον· ὡς καὶ τὸ κισσύβιον ἀπορρήψαι· ἐπειδὴ περ παρὰ παιδὸς ἐδιδάχθη κοίλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπικύπτων πίνειν. [Diog.] ep. 6 13. Simplic. in Epict. enchir. p. 273 Heins.

ibid. συνελογίζετο δὲ καὶ οὕτως· “τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ πάντα φίλοι δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντ’ ἄρα ἐστὶ τῶν σοφῶν.” = § 72. Cf. § 11. vii 126. Cic. fin. iv § 7. parad. vi. Sen. ben. vii 3 §§ 2 3. 6 § 3. 8 § 1. Stob. fl. xciv 23. Clem. Al. paed. iii § 36. protr. § 122 f. str. ii §§ 19 f. 21. 22. vii § 18 f. Lips. manud. iii 11. Bernays *Lucian und die Kyniker* (Berlin 1879) 33. 95. Plut. non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epic. 22 (ii 1102 f) πάντα δὲ τῶν θεῶν, κατὰ τὸν Διογένη, καὶ κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων, καὶ φίλοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ἀγαθοί· καὶ τὸν θεοφιλῇ μὴ τι εὖ πράττειν, ἢ <μὴ> θεοφιλῇ εἶναι τὸν σώφρονα καὶ δίκαιον· ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν. [Cratet.] ep. 26. [Diog.] ep. 10 § 2, where the saying is fathered on Socrates. For the proverb see Erasmus, the *Paroemiogr. gr.* i 106. 266. ii 76. Otto, *Sprichwörter* ‘amicus’ n. 1. Jacobs on Lucian Toxaris 62 and proleg.

XI. Zeller I<sup>4</sup> 290 3. 291 3. Boissonade anecd. nov. 265. Cope on Aristot. rhet. vol. II p. 45. Plato Lys. 20 c. Stallbaum on Plat. rep. 428<sup>a</sup>. Stallbaum, Heindorf and Ast on Plat. Phaedr. 279 c. Nep. Epamin. 3 4. Philo de vita Mosis (II 105 M) I § 155 τοιγαροῦν πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα πολυχρηματία καὶ τῷ παρ' ἀνθρώποις μέγα πνέοντι πλούτῳ γεραίρει θεὸς τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τελειώτατον ἀντιδούς πλούτον αὐτῷ· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς συμπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα στοιχεῖα καὶ συγκρίματα· κοινωνὸν γὰρ ἀξιώσας ἀναφανῆναι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ λήξεως ἀνῆκε πάντα τὸν κόσμον ὡς κληρονόμῳ κτῆσιν ἀρμόζουσιν. τοιγαροῦν ὑπήκουεν ὡς δεσπότῃ τῶν στοιχείων ἄλλαττον ἢν εἶχε δύναμιν καὶ ταῖς προστάξεσιν ὑπέεικον· καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἴσως οὐδέν· εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν “κοινὰ τὰ φίλων,” φίλος δὲ ὁ προφητῆς ἀνείρηται θεοῦ (Exod. 33 11), κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον μετέχει ἂν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, καθ' ὃ χρειῶδες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς πάντα κεκτημένος οὐδενὸς δέεται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἄνθρωπος κέκτηται μὲν οὐδὲν κυρίως ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἑαυτόν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κειμηλίων, καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἷός τε ᾖ, μεταλαγχάνει. id. de Abrah. (II 34 M) § 235 (IV 52 7 Cohn) καὶ ἦν τῷ ὄντι οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ· “κοινὰ” γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν “τὰ φίλων,” πολὺ δὲ πλεον τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἷς ἐν τέλος εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ. Muson. p. 362 Peerlkamp. Lucian merc. cond. 19 20. Sen. ben. VII 3 §§ 2, 3. Clem. Al. protr. § 122 f. p. 94 P. εἰ δὲ κοινὰ τὰ φίλων, θεοφιλῆς δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ γὰρ οὖν τῷ θεῷ φίλος μεσιτεύοντος τοῦ λόγου, γίνεται δὴ οὖν τὰ πάντα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι τὰ πάντα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κοινὰ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν φίλοις τὰ πάντα, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου. Alciph. ep. 1 7 f. Aen. soph. ep. 6. Ambr. de viduis § 4. Clem. recogn. x 5. [Donat.] vit. Verg. in Reifferscheid Suet. relliq. 66 n. Wetstein on 1 Cor. 3 22. Simplic. in Epict. ench. p. 205 Heins.

§ 39 “γελοῖον,” ἔφη, “εἰ Ἀγῆσιλαος μὲν καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ διάξουσιν, εὐτελεῖς δὲ τινες ἐν ταῖς μακάρων νήσοις ἔσονται.” Heindorf and Stallbaum on Plat. Phaed. 69 c. cf. Tert. apol. 11 volo igitur merita recensere, an eiusmodi sint, ut illos in caelum extulerint et non potius in imum tartarum mererint, quem carcerem poenarum infernarum cum vultis affirmatis. illuc enim abstrudi solent impii quique in parentes et incesti in sorores et maritarum adulteri et virginum raptores et

puerorum contaminatores et qui saeviunt et qui occidunt et qui furantur et qui decipiunt et quicumque similes sunt alicuius dei vestri, quem neminem integrum a crimine aut vitio probare poteritis, nisi hominem negaveritis...deos facite criminiosissimos quoque, ut placeatis dis vestris. illorum est honor consecratio coequalium. sed ut omittam huius indignitatis retractatum, probi et integri et boni fuerint. quot tamen potiores viros apud inferos reliquistis? aliquem de sapientia Socratem, de iustitia Aristiden, de militia Themistoclem, de sublimitate Alexandrum, de felicitate Polycraten, de copia Croesum, de eloquentia Demosthenen. quis ex illis deis vestris gravior et sapientior Catone, iustior et militarior Scipione? quis sublimior Pompeio, felicior Sulla, copiosior Crasso, eloquentior Tullio? quanto dignius istos deos ille [deus deificus] assumendos expectasset, praescius utique potiorum! properavit, opinor, et caelum semel elusit, et nunc utique melioribus apud inferos mussitantibus erubescit.

§ 45 κύων τευτλία οὐκ ἐσθίει. [Diog.] ep. 2.

§ 46 χρημάτων δεόμενος ἀπαιτεῖν ἔλεγε τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ αἰτεῖν. [Cratet.] ep. 26 μὴ θαυμάζετε, εἰ Διογένης, πάντα τοῦ σπουδαίου εἶναι λέγων, προσιών οὐκ ᾔτει ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπῆτει.

ibid. ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς cf. §§ 69, 97. Lucian de morte Peregrin. 17.

§ 50 μηδὲν εἰσίστω κακόν. Theodoret. gr. aff. cur. vi § 20 p. 88 l. 22 οὕτω πάλιν οὗτος αὐτὸς (Diogenes) ἐν οἰκίᾳ τινὸς μοχθηροῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένον εὐρών,

ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς

ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηδὲν εἰσίστω κακόν.

“καὶ πῶς,” ἔφη, “ὁ κύριος εἰσελεύσεται τῆς οἰκίας;”

§ 53 τραπεζότης Simplic. in categor. ap. Brandis schol. Aristot. p. 66 b 47. H. L. Mansel, Letters and Reviews (1873) 308.

§ 63 κοσμοπολίτης. cf. § 98. II 99. Cic. fin. iv § 7. Philo de opific. mundi § 142 (I 50 2 Cohn = I 34 M) τὸν δ' ἀρχηγέτην ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνον κοσμοπολίτην λέγοντες ἀψευδέστατα ἐροῦμεν· ἦν γὰρ οἶκος αὐτῷ καὶ πόλις ὁ κόσμος, μηδεμιᾶς χειροποιήτου κατασκευῆς δεδημιουργημένης ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ὕλης, ᾧ καθάπερ ἐν πατρίδι μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἐνδιητᾶτο φόβου μὲν ἐκτὸς ὧν, ἥτε τῆς τῶν περιγείων ἡγεμονίας ἀξιοθῆις καὶ πάντων ὅσα θνητὰ κατεπτηκότων

καὶ ὑπακούειν ὡς δεσπότη δεδιδαγμένων ἢ βιασθέντων, ἐν εὐπαθείαις δὲ ταῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπολέμῳ ζῶν ἀνεπιλήπτως. § 143 ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πόλις εὐνομος ἔχει πολιτείαν, ἀναγκαίως συνέβαινε τῷ κοσμοπολίτῃ χρῆσθαι πολιτείᾳ ἢ καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος. de migrat. Abrah. § 59 (II 279 24 Wendland = I 445 M) ὁ μὲν δὴ κόσμος καὶ ὁ κοσμοπολίτης σοφὸς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀναπέπλησται, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὄμιλος πλείοσι μὲν κέχρηται κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ ἐλάττωσι. de vita Mosis I § 158 (IV 158 3 Cohn = II 105 M). const. apost. VII 39. VIII 12 § 8 (Migne Patrol. gr. I 1098 b) 41. Basil. ep. 9 3 (III 91 c). Davies and Reid on Cic. acad. I § 21. Cic. legg. I § 61. Davies on Tusc. V § 108. Sen. ep. 28 4. 68 2. 95 82. Hatch Hibbert Lectures 212. Tert. apol. 38 (p. 253 Oehler) unam omnium rem publicam agnoscimus mundum. Ambr. off. II § 66 exsilium non refugiat [prudencia], quae noverit sapienti patriam mundum esse. Lightfoot on Philipp. 3 20 pp. 154. 304—5.

ibid. fin. πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα ὅτι εἰς τόπους ἀκαθάρτους εἰσίοι, “καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος,” ἔφη “εἰς τοὺς ἀποπάτους, ἀλλ’ οὐ μαιίνεται.” Plin. paneg. 80 4 o veras principis atque etiam dei curas,...intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum infectumque reddere quidquid fieri non oportuerit, postremo velocissimi sideris more omnia invisere, omnia audire et undecumque invocatum statim velut adesse et assistere! Orig. c. Cels. VI 73 οἶεται δὲ ὁ τὸν Στωϊκὸν λόγον ἐκτιθέμενος καὶ μὴ προσποιούμενος τὰ περὶ ἀδιαφόρων μεμαθηκέναι εἰς μίασμα ἐμβεβληθῆαι τὴν θείαν φύσιν καὶ μεμιάσθαι εἴτε γενομένην ἐν γυναικὸς σώματι, ἕως περιπλασθῇ αὐτῇ τὸ σῶμα, εἴτε σῶμα ἀνελιηφύϊαν· παραπλήσιόν τι ποιῶν τοῖς οἰομένοις τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου μαιίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς βορβόροις καὶ ταῖς δυσώδεσι σώμασι καὶ μὴ μένειν κακεὶ καθαρὰς. Hier. ep. 120 12 (I 845 c d Vallarsi) nec hoc mirandum de apostolo, cum...solis...radios tam munda loca excipiant quam immunda, et sic in floribus quomodo in stercore luceant: nec tamen solis radii polluantur. Aug. de agone Christiano § 20 (VI 252 c) nec eos audiamus, qui non verum hominem suscepisse dicunt Filium Dei, neque natum esse de femina, sed falsam carnem et imaginem simulatam corporis humani ostendisse videntibus. nesciunt enim quomodo substantia Dei administrans universam creaturam inquinari omnino

non possit: et tamen praedicant istum visibilem solem radios suos per omnes faeces et sordes corporum spargere, et eos mundos et sinceros ubique servare. si ergoabilia munda a visibilibus immundis contingi possunt, et non inquinari; quanto magis invisibilis et incommutabilis Veritas per spiritum animam, et per animam corpus suscipiens, toto homine assumpto ab omnibus eum infirmitatibus nulla sui contaminatione liberavit! Euod. de fide contra Manichaeos 24 (in August. opera, Vindob., VI ed. Zycka p. 961 20) si vero nusquam deus coinquinatur, cum etiam lux corporum caelestium usque ad terras perveniat et non coinquinetur cum manifestum sit solem istum, cui genua flectunt, in omnibus stercoribus et putoribus radios suos expandere et eos nusquam coinquinari: desinant blasphemare et rogent deum, ut ab errore liberentur. incoinquinabilis enim substantia non ideo non coinquinatur, quia nihil attingit, sed quia permanet in sua munditia, quaecumque sit quicquid attigerit. Chrysol. serm. 35 (LII 299 c Migne) sciens quod deum nec tactus polluit, nec offendit visus, nec odor exasperat, nec auditus sauciat, nec inquinat humana cogitatio. nam si sol tangit stercora, non tamen stercoribus inquinatur, quanto magis creator solis tangit omnia, et tamen non potest ullis contactibus inquinari. serm. 94 (464 c) stercora contingunt, sed non inquinant solem. medicum cum tangunt vulnera, putredo non polluit. iudicem quamvis tangat reus, non potest maculare cum supplicat. sic peccator cum Dominum tangit, non Dominum sordidat. Victorin. phys. 19 (VIII 1305 c Migne). quod si et immundum dicentes patiamur, nec sic tamen contaminari sanctitatem ab immundo potuisse declaratur: cum solem, quem creaturam eius negare non possumus, sic immunda sordium, sentinas paludium, putredines caeni, astringere videamus, ut cum vim suam per radios super haec emittat, non tamen polluitur. quod si in his sordibus non polluitur creatura, multo minus in viro sancto, quia corpore divinitas ipsa non polluitur. Decreta Anastasii Papae 7 (Migne 67 314 a): nam si visibilis solis istius radii, cum per loca fetidissima transeant, nulla contactus iniquatione maculantur; multo magis illius qui istum visibilem fecit, virtus nulla ministerii indignitate constringitur. Jer. Taylor, ed. Eden, III 23.

§ 65 ἰδὼν εὐπρεπῇ νεανίσκον ἀπρεπῶς λαλοῦντα “οὐκ αἰσχύνεται,” ἔφη “ἐξ ἐλεφαντίνου κολεοῦ μολυβδίνην ἔλκων μάχαιραν;” See Boissonade on Aristaen. II 6 εὔρεν οὖν ἡ μάχαιρα κολεὸν ἄξιον ἑαυτῆς.

§ 66 πρὸς τὸν μυριζόμενον “βλέπε,” εἶπε, “μὴ ἡ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου εὐωδία δυσωδίαν σου τῷ βίῳ παράσχη.” cf. VII § 23. Varro Sat. Men. fr. 341 Bücheler (cf. Riese, pp. xiv 177) in Gell. XIII 11 § 6 bellaria ea maxime sunt mellita quae mellita non sunt, πέμμασιν enim cum πέψει societas infida. Plaut. most. 272—3 (where see Taubmann) PHILE. etiamne unguentis unguendam censes? sc. minime feceris. | PHILE. qua propter? sc. quia ccastor mulier recte olet, ubi nil olet. Cic. ad Att. II 1 § 1 (cf. ‘when unadorned, adorned the most’) quamquam tua illa—lego enim libenter—horridula mihi atque incompta visa sunt, sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso quod ornamenta neglexerant et, ut mulieres, ideo bene olere, quia nihil olebant, videbantur. Mart. II 12 (cf. III 55. VI 55 5) esse quid hoc dicam, quod olent tua basia myrrham | quodque tibi est numquam non alienus odor? | hoc mihi suspectum est quod oles bene, Postume, semper: | Postume, non bene olet, qui bene semper olet. Hier. ep. 130 19 (I 995 Vallarsi).

§ 69. cf. §§ 46. 97. Hier. in Eph. 5 3 (VII 640 a Vallarsi).

§ 87 Crates sells his estate and distributes it among citizens Zeller II<sup>3</sup> (1) 245 n. 1. Add [Diog.] ep. 9. Apul. apol. 22. Jerome is never weary of holding up the example to Christians (ep. 58 2, p. 319 d. 66 8, p. 399 b. 71 3 p. 433 b. adv. Iovin. II 9, II 338 b, in Matt. 19 28, VII 150 d).

§ 97 (cf. § 69) Hipparchia ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ συνεγίγνετο (Κράτητι). Aug. c. d. XIV 20 (the cynics of Augustine’s day had more shame or fear). Iulian in Aug. op. imperf. c. Iulian. (x 113 b c d, citing Cornelius Nepos). de nuptiis et concupisc. I § 24 (x 291 b).

§ 105 Διογένης...ἔφασκε θεῶν μὲν ἴδιον εἶναι μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ θεοῖς ὁμοίων τὸ ὀλίγων χρῆζειν. Zeller II<sup>3</sup> (1) 54 n. 3 and 4, 269 2. III<sup>3</sup> (2) 355 5. [Cratet.] ep. 11. Hense on Stob. vol. III p. 266 1. Cic. n. d. I § 122. Sen. ep. 17 § 10, ben. II 30 2, VII 3 3. Clem. Al. protr. § 105, str. II § 81, VII § 18. On the words ἀνενδεής and ἀπροσδεής see Lightfoot on

Clem. Rom. ep. 1 52, Clem. Al. 250, 444, 810, and Mayor's ind. to str. VII. [Ignat.] Philipp. 9. Chrys. xi 6 a, 250 f, 646 d, 680 b. Plotin. ennead. v 3 16, ix 6. Cf. vi 9 6. Sozomen. h. e. i 12 5. Apul. apol. 21 fin. equidem didici ea re praecedere maxime deos hominibus quod nulla re ad usum sui indigeant: igitur ex nobis cui quam minimis opus sit, cum esse deo similiorem. Lucian cyn. 12 κάπειτα εἰ θηρίου βίον βραχέων δεόμενος καὶ ὀλίγοις χρώμενος δοκῶ σοι ζῆν, κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων εἶναι χείρονες κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον οὐδενὸς γὰρ δέονται. ἵνα δὲ καταμάθῃς ἀκριβέστερον τό τε ὀλίγων καὶ τὸ πολλῶν δεῖσθαι ποῖόν τι ἐκάτερόν ἐστιν, ἐννόησον ὅτι δέονται πλειόνων οἱ μὲν παῖδες τῶν τελείων, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ νοσοῦντες τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων, καθόλου δὲ πανταχοῦ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ κρείττονος πλειόνων δεῖται. διὰ τοῦτο θεοὶ μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ ἔγγιστα θεοῖς ἐλαχίστων δέονται. Suid. κυνισμός. Iuv. xiv 313 n.

VII § 5 (saying of Zeno) νῦν εὐπλόηκα ὅτε νευαύγηκα. Basil. ep. 4 (III 76 c, where Philosophy speaks) τούτῳ [Basil] συνοικεῖν εἰλόμην ἐγώ, νῦν μὲν Ζήνωνα ἐπαινοῦντι, ὃς ναυαγίῳ πάντα ἀποβαλὼν, οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς ἐφθέγγετο. ἀλλ' "εὖ γε," εἶπεν, "ἡ τύχη συνελαύνεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ τριβώνιον."

§ 65 Δίων the name is used *materialiter* by philosophers, as Titius and Seius (John Doe and Richard Rowe) by lawyers. Five passages are cited in Schenk's index to Epictetus and many in Bekker's index to Sextus Empiricus.

§ 78 ἀσυλλόγιστοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ παρακείμενοι μὲν πιθανῶς τοῖς συλλογιστικοῖς, οὐ συνάγοντες δέ. See Schweighäuser on Epict. I 6 10.

§ 88 (cf. § 89) τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν. Philo II 470 M. Epict. I 6 15. Merguet lex. Cic. philos. 'convenienter.' Beier exc. III on Cic. off. III § 13 vol. II pp. 426—431. Theodoret. gr. aff. eur. XI 15 p. 153 46. Clem. Al. str. II §§ 101 pr. 129. Philo quod omnis probus liber 22 (II 470 M). Ambr. de Abrah. II § 38 (I 593 19) quanto magis sapiens suum iudicat quidquid naturae est, qui vivit secundum naturam! Cf. ὁμολογουμένως. Stob. ecl. II 6 (II 38 30 Meineke) τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ζωὴν ἀκόλουθον ὑπάρχειν καὶ ὁμολογουμένην φύσει. Clem. Al. str. II § 129 pr. πάλιν δ' αὖ Ζήνων μὲν ὁ Στωϊκὸς τέλος ἡγεῖται τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν

ζῆν, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν, ὃ ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ κείσθαι διελάμβανεν. schol. Luc. bis acc. 21 (II 818). Zeller III<sup>3</sup> (1) 209 4, 211 1.

ibid. εὐροίαν βίου. Upton on Epict. I 4 1. Schenkl ind. Epict. Wytttenb. ind. Plut. Sext. Empir. XI §§ 30. 110. Plut. II 323 f.

§§ 98—101 Cic. Tusc. v § 43.

§ 105 προηγμένα Cic. fin. III §§ 15, 51, 52. Tusc. v § 47 Davies. Zeller III<sup>3</sup> (1) 260 1. Lips. manuduct. II 23. Sext. Empir. XI 48 with n. of Fabricius, 62, 73.

§ 110 Clem. Al. str. II § 50 fin. On πάθος cf. Cic. Tusc. III § 24, IV § 11 Davies.

§ 111 φιλαργυρία Schweighäuser on Epict. I 1 § 5.

§ 114 ἡδονή id. ibid. I 11 § 28.

§ 120 φιλοστοργίαν id. ibid. I 11 § 17.

ibid. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ψεῦδος ψεύδους, οὕτως οὐδ' ἀπάτη ἀπάτης, οὐδ' ἀμαρτήματα ἀμαρτήματος. § 127 ὥς γὰρ δεῖν φασιν ἢ ὀρθὸν εἶναι ξύλον ἢ στρεβλόν, οὕτως ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, οὕτε δὲ δικαιότερον ἢ ἀδικώτερον. Epictet. fr. 66 Schw. (in Stob. ecl. III 9 46 (vol. III p. 360 Heinse): καθάπερ ὀρθοῦ οὐδὲν ὀρθότερον, οὕτως οὐδὲ δικαίου οὐδὲν δικαιότερον. Sen. ep. 66 § 8 nihil invenies rectius recto, non magis quam verius vero, quam temperato temperatus. Cf. §§ 11, 12, 32; 74 § 27; 92 § 24. Orig. c. Cels. II 7 ὥς οὐκ ἔστι ψεῦσμα ψεύσματος μᾶλλον ψεῦσμα, οὕτως οὐδὲ μειζόνως· ὥς οὐδὲ ἀληθὲς ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον ἀληθὲς ἢ μειζόνως ἀληθές. We find in Latin *certo certius* (Otto Sprichwörter 81). Mart. VIII 76 7 8 vero verius ergo quid sit, audi: | verum, Gallice, non libenter audis. Zeller III<sup>3</sup> (1) 246 2, 247 1 2, 249 n. Cic. parad. c. 3. de or. I 83. finn. IV § 21. Plut. de Stoicor. repugnant. 13 pr. (II 1038 d) καὶ Χρύσιππος, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούναντίον γέγραφε, δῆλός ἐστι προστιθέμενος τῷ μήτε κακίαν κακίας ἢ ἀμαρτίαν ἀμαρτίας ὑπερέχουσιν εἶναι μήτ' ἀρετὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ κατόρθωσιν κατορθώσεως. Pearson's Zeno p. 175. Heindorf on Hor. s. I 3 78. Plin. ep. VIII 2 § 3. Lact. epit. 33 (38) §§ 9, 10. James 2 10 with Mayor's n. Sext. Empir. VII § 422. Cypr. ep. 55 § 16 with Baluze. Aug. haer. 82. contra mendacium ad Consentinum (VI 782 a Gaume). ep. 103 3 f.

(II 431 d), 104 §§ 13 (440 b), 14 (441 a). The ecclesiastical distinction of venial and mortal sins, as applied by casuists, is a far more deadly error than any into which Jovinianus fell.

§ 121 πολιτεύεσθαι. Cic. top. § 82, off. I § 155, fin. v § 72. Sen. ot. sap. c. 3—8, tranq. I § 10, ep. 28 § 7, 68 § 2. Zeller III<sup>s</sup> (1) 292—8.

§ 130 εἰς θεωρίαν καὶ πράξιν. Schweighäuser on Epictet. I 6 19.

ibid. ἐξάξειν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφόν. Upton on Epictet. I 9 20. Sagittar. on Justin. I 3 § 5 f. (pp. 132—5 Frotscher). My n. on Plin. ep. III 9 I pp. 113—4 and Iuv. 15 106—7. Add Menage on Diog. Laert. II 143. Zeller III (1) 306 I, 727 3. Renan les apôtres 343 I. Bernays Lucian und die Cyniker 57. Suicide blamed by Pythagoras (Cic. de sen. § 3), Aristot. (eth. N. v 15 1), Cicero (Tusc. I § 74). The writings of Tacitus have been called a gallery of suicides, but the gloomy shadow hangs over a whole literature. Curt. X 5 §§ 24, 25 (Sisigambis). Plin. h. n. XX § 199 among others the father of P. Licinius Caecina poisoned himself with laudanum, *cum valetudo impetibilis odium vitae fecisset*. XXXVI § 183 C Procu- leium, Augusti Caesaris familiaritate subnixum, gypso poto conscivisse sibi mortem. Sen. ep. 70 § 14 invenies etiam professores sapientiam, qui vim afferendam vitae suae negent, et nefas iudicent ipsum interemptorem sui fieri. expectandum esse exitum, quem natura decrevit. hoc qui dicit, non videt se libertati viam claudere. nil melius aeterna lex fecit, quam quod unum introitum nobis ad vitam dedit, exitus multos. Cf. §§ 4—13, 15—28. 12 § 10. 24 §§ 6—11, 22—36. 26 § 10. 29 § 12, 51 § 9 f. 58 §§ 32—37. 65 § 22. 69 § 6. 71 §§ 11, 16, 17, 77 §§ 13—20. 92 § 34. 104 § 3. de prov. 2 §§ 10, 12. 3 § 14, 6 §§ 2 f. 7—9. de ira III 15 §§ 3, 4. cons. Marc. 1 § 2, 20 § 3, 22. Plut. Lycurg. 29 § 8. Pericles 16 § 10 (Anaxagoras). Timoleon 5 § 3. Cleom. 37 §§ 5, 6. comp. Agid. et Cleom. c. Gracchis 3 § 1. Suet. Claud. 31. Gell. III 10 § 15 id etiam sumit ad vim facultatesque eius numeri, quod, quibus inedia mori consilium esse, septimo demum die mortem appetunt. (The same observation in Lucian hist. conser. 21 f.) Favorinus in Stob. flor. 118 28. Gataker's ind. to Antoninus 'mors.'

Athen. 157 b—d, 234 a (Gylippus). Isocrates died by his own hand after the battle of Chaeronea, vit. x orat. in Westermann *βιογράφοι* 258. Eratosthenes, aet. 80, διὰ τὸ ἀμβλυωπεῖν (Suid.), Cleanthes (Zeller III<sup>3</sup> (1) 34), Aristarchus, suffering from dropsy (Suid.), Dionysius of Heraclea, aet. 81 (Censorin. 15 § 2). Porphyry had resolved to commit suicide, but was diverted from his purpose by Plotinus (Porphyry. vit. Plotin. 11), who wrote a treatise on 'the rational exit from life' (ib. c. 24 cf. c. 4), of which a fragment survives as the ninth book of *ennead* I (see Creuzer's notes, vol. III 79—83). He only allows insanity as a justifying plea. Augustine has no difficulty in exposing the inconsistency of the Stoic doctrine (c. d. XIX 4, II 359 18 Dombart) iam vero illa virtus, cuius nomen est fortitudo, in quantacumque sapientia evidentissima testis est humanorum malorum, quae compellitur patientia tolerare. quae mala Stoici philosophi miror qua fronte mala non esse contendunt, quibus fatentur, si tanta fuerint, ut ea sapiens vel non possit vel non debeat sustinere, cogi eum mortem sibimet inferre atque ex hac vita emigrare. tantus autem superbiae stupor est in his hominibus hic se habere finem boni et a se ipsis fieri beatos putantibus, ut sapiens eorum, hoc est, qualem mirabili vanitate describunt, etiamsi excaecetur obsurdescat obmutescat, membris debilitetur doloribus crucietur et siquid aliud talium malorum dici aut cogitari potest, incidat in eum, quo sibi mortem cogatur inferre, hanc in his malis vitam constitutam eum non pudeat beatam vocare. o vitam beatam, quae ut finiatur mortis quaerit auxilium! And more to the same purpose. 17. 18. 19 (Lucretia; here Aen. VI 434—9 is cited). 20. 22. 23 (Cato). 24 (Regulus, superior to Cato, inferior to the Christians). 25. 26 (nuns drown themselves to escape violation). 27. 28.

§ 137 γῆν μέσσην ἀπάντων οὖσαν. Martianus Capella § 814.

§ 140 ἡνώσθαι. Epictet. I 14 § 2 Upton.

§ 151 δαίμονας Upton ibid. §§ 12. 14.

§ 162 f. ἐπιχείρημα Schweighäuser ibid. I 8 1.

§§ 166 167 Zeller III<sup>3</sup> (1) 38 n. 2. Hier. in Gal. I 5 (VII 381<sup>a</sup> Vallarsi) sapientes quoque saeculi eos qui de dogmate transferuntur ad dogma, *translatos* vocant, ut Dionysius ille (cuius fuit ante sententia, dolorem non esse malum : postquam

oppressus calamitatibus et dolore cruciatus, cepit affirmare quod dolor esset summum omnium malorum) ab his appellatus est *Transpositus*, sive *Translatus*, quod scilicet a priore decreto recedens in contrarium recidisset.

§ 168 Φρεάντλης Basil ep. 4 (III 67<sup>d</sup>): νῦν δὲ τὸν Κλεάνθην, μισθῷ ὕδωρ τοῦ φρέατος ἀπαντλοῦντα, ὅθεν αὐτός τε διέεξη καὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθοὺς ὑπετέλει.

§ 182 πρὸς δὲ τὸν κατέξανιστάμενον Κλεάνθους διαλεκτικὸν καὶ προτείνοντα αὐτῷ σοφίσματα, “πέπαυσο,” εἶπε “περιέλκων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ τῶν πραγματικωτέρων, ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρότεινε τοῖς νέοις.” Epictet. I 9 10 ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ὅτι ἔδει καθῆσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐνταῦθα οὐ τοῦτο μηχανώμενον, ὅπως μὴ ταπεινοφρονήσητε μηδὲ ταπεινοὺς μηδὲ ἀγενεῖς τινὰς διαλογισμοὺς διαλογιεῖσθε αὐτοὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν, (§ 11) ἀλλὰ μὴ τινες ἐμπίπτωσιν τοιοῦτοι νέοι. Isto vero nomine ὁ πρεσβύτερος vulgo in Stoicorum scholis videtur adpellari solitus praeceptor, vide Laërt. VII 182. alibi γερόντιον dicit noster, de se loquens (II 6 23), et γέρων χωλός (I 16 20). SCHWEIGHAUSER.

§ 195 fin. περὶ τῶν μεταπιπτόντων λόγων. See Epict. I 7 with the notes.

VIII § 9 fin. of Pythagoras: ἐρωτηθέντα πότε δεῖ πλησιάζειν εἰπεῖν “ὅταν βούλη γενέσθαι σαντοῦ ἀσθενέστερος.” Epicur. fr. 62 a (p. 344 Usener, cl. fr. 62\* p. 118) Ἐπίκουρος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐρωτηθεὶς, πότε χρὴ γυναικὶ προσομιλεῖν, ἔφη “ὅταν σαντοῦ ἀσθενέστερος θέλῃς γενέσθαι.” From this passage Reinhold Dressler (Quaestiones ad Maximī et Antonii gnomologias spectantes, Lips. Teubner, 1869) restores γυναικὶ after πλησιάζειν. cf. Newman Aristot. pol. III 457—464, 467—474.

§ 10 On the Pythagorean silence see Luc. vit. auct. 3. Demonact. vit. 14. Hermotim. 48. Gallus 4. Plut. de curiositate 9 pr. p. 519. quaest. conv. VIII 8 I § 1 ἐχεμυθία. Numa 8 § 7 p. 65 b. Apul. flor. 15 f. Philostr. vit. Apoll. I 1 § 2 (cf. 14 §§ 1 2. 16 § 3). vi 11 § 3. Clem. Al. str. v § 68 p. 686 fin. P. Eus. h. e. iv 7 7. c. Hier. 12. Claudian Mall. Theod. cons. 90 91 quicquid Democritus risit, dixitque tacendo | Pythagoras. 157 Pythagorae monitus annique silentes. Sidon. e. 2 171—2 quicquid Pythagoras, Democritus, Heraclitus, | deflevit, risit, tacuit. 15 51—2 asserit hic Samius post docta silentia lustrī

Pythagoras. id. ep. vii 9 5. Procop. epist. 3. 112. 157. Eunap. p. 500 l. 34 Didot. Boissonade anecd. iii 193. Ambr. in ps. 118 s. 2 § 5. de off. 1 § 31. de virgin. 1 § 18. Hier. in eccles. 3 7 (iii 410<sup>e</sup> Vallarsi). Theodoret. gr. aff. cur. 1 § 55 p. 12 14. § 128 p. 21 15. Serv. Aen. x 564. Ennod. pp. 188 13. 202 1 Hartel. Tzetz. chil. vii 116 seq. Walz rhet. gr. vii pt. 1 2 Πυθαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος, δέκα ἔτη σιγῆσας, πολλὰ ἐποίησε συγγράμματα, καὶ ἐν ἦν τῶν δογμάτων ἢ τῶν μαθητῶν σιωπή. Zeller i<sup>4</sup> 289 1. iii (2) 157 6. The 'proverb' σιωπηλότερος καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων (cited by Suid. Πυθαγόρας f. and σιωπή) is from Iulian or. 8 p. 251 c. For the verb ἐχεμυθέω see Iambl. vit. Pyth. § 94. Heliodor. vii 16; for ἐχεμυθία Iambl. l.c. §§ 68. 188. 225.

§ 30 pr. τὴν δ' ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαιρεῖσθαι τριχῇ, εἷς τε νοῦν καὶ φρένας καὶ θυμόν. cf. Stallbaum on Plat. Phaedr. p. 266 a and proleg. p. cxiv.

§ 43 f. ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ ἀποτίθесθαι. Wesseling on Herodot. i 8. Wytttenbach on Plut. ii 37 c. Cobet Λόγιος Ἑρμ. i 202. Clem. Al. paed. ii § 100 p. 230 P μὴ δὴ ἅμα χιτῶνι ἀποδυομένῳ ἀποδυσώμεθα καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ ποτέ, ἐπεὶ οὐδέποτε τῷ δικαίῳ σωφροσύνην ἀποδύσασθαι θέμις. iii § 33 p. 273 P καὶ οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνὸν δεικνύναι τὸν ἄνδρα αἰδούμενοι ἐν διαζώμασιν τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἐκτελοῦντες τὸ αἰδῆμον ἐφύλαττον, αἱ δὲ ἀποδυσάμεναι ἅμα τῷ χιτῶνι καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ φαίνεσθαι μὲν βούλονται καλαί, ἄκουσαι δ' ὅμως ἐλέγχονται κακαί. Tertull. de pall. 4 (ii 1044 d Migne) convertit et ad feminas, habes spectare quod Caecina Severus graviter senatui impressit, matronas sine stola in publico. Cypr. de cultu virginum 19 (201 9) spectaculum de lavacro facis, theatro sunt foediora quo convenis. verecundia illic omnis exiuit, simul cum amictu vestis honor corporis ac pudor ponitur.

§ 63 Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τρυφῶσι μὲν ὡς αὔριον ἀποθανοῦμενοι, οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονται ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον βιωσόμενοι. The passage of Tert. apol. cited by Menage is c. 39 repeated by Hier. ep. 123 15 (i 913 b Vallarsi) et illud, quod de Megarensibus dicitur, iure miseris coaptari potest: "aedificant quasi semper victuri: vivunt quasi altera die morituri."

§ 87 αὐτόθι ξυράμενόν θ' ὑπήνην καὶ ὀφρῦν. Iuv. vi 533

qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo. Lact. I 21 20 sacerdotes eius [Isidis] deglabrato corpore pectora sua tundunt. Ambr. ep. cl. I 58 3 cum ipsi capita et supercilia sua radant, si quando Isidis suscipiunt sacra; si forte christianus vir attentior sacrosanctae religioni vestem mutaverit, indignum facinus appellant.

IX § 48 παράπηγμα. Wesseling (I 9 14) on Diodor. I 4 5.

X § 2 Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου βίου φησὶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καταγνόντα τῶν γραμματιστῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἐρμηνεύσαι αὐτῷ τὰ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ χάους. See the like discomfiture of a grammarian asked by (Gellius (XX 10 5) the meaning of *ex iure manum consortum* in Emilius. cf. Gräfenhan, *Gesch. der Philol.* I 340 15. Iuv. VII 227 pp. 326—7, 402. König and Passow and Jahn on Pers. I 29. Tert. ad nat. I 10 (p. 89 2) adhuc meminimus Homeri. Hier. ep. 107 (to Laeta, about her daughter's education) 9 pr. (I 686 a Vallarsi) discat Graecorum versuum numerum: sequatur statim Latina eruditio. Sidon. c. 7 177 surgentes animi Musis formantur. ep. V 5 § 2 post ferulas lectionis Maronianae. 21 mihi quoque semper a parvo cura Musarum. IV 12 § 1 nuper ego filiusque communis Terentianae Hecyrae sales ruminabamus.

§ 126 Bacchylides II 160 with note (p. 409) in Greek melic poets by H. Weir Smyth (Macmillan 1900).

§ 131 μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ. cf. § 11. VI § 90 (= Ath. 422<sup>ed</sup>). VII § 27. Usener Epicur. p. 156 4—20. 299 25. 300 15 with n. 339 16. Iuv. XIV 181 n. 319 n. Xen. Cyrop. I 2 11 (cf. Ath. 157<sup>e</sup>) εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς οἶεται ἢ ἐσθίειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀηδῶς ὅταν ὕδωρ πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθήτω πῶς μὲν ἡδὺ μᾶζα καὶ ἄρτος πεινῶντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ πιεῖν διψῶντι. ib. VI 2 § 28. Sen. ep. 18 § 10. 21 § 10. 25 § 4. 45 § 10. [Crates] ep. 14. Greg. Naz. c. X 604—611 (a Stoic to his body, as to a stranger): τί σοὶ χρεωστῶ φησὶν, ἄθλιον δέρος; | φαγεῖν; μέγιστον, ἄρτος ἐνδεῶς δοθείς. | πιεῖν; ὕδωρ σοι δώσομεν καὶ ὀξίνην. | οὐ ταῦτά μ' αἰτεῖς τὰ τρυφῆς δὲ καὶ κόρου | κρυσταλλίνων τε ἀβρότητ' ἐκπωμάτων. | λαν ἐτοίμως δώσομέν γ', ἀλλ' ἀγχόνην. id. or. 43 § 61 (funeral oration on Basil I 816 c, ed. Ben.): τὸ ἥδιστον δεῖπνον καὶ ὄψον,

ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλες, ἡ καινὴ καρυκεία, καὶ ποτὸν νηφάλιον τε καὶ ἄφθονον, ὃ γεωργοῦσι πηγαὶ μηδὲν πονουμένοις. Clem. recogn. ix 6 f. quantus enim sumptus est aqua et pane utentibus et hunc a Deo sperantibus.

I have chosen my references on Diogenes Laërtius for printing, because there are but few of them, as I have only lately had at hand an edition convenient for marginal notes. Of late years much has been done for the fragments of Greek philosophy—the *Wiener Studien* make a special study of the gnomologies; the collections of Stobaeus and also the remains e.g. of Heraclitus, Epicurus, Metrodorus, Teles,—and now of the earlier Stoics,—are before the world in editions fully up to date. It is high time that a new edition of the commentaries of Casaubon and Menage, should appear, not on the plan of the Dutch *variorum* editions of the 18th century, or of the 19th century reprints of the commentaries e.g. on Caesar, Florus, Justin, Livy, Nepos, Sallust, Cicero (philosophical works by Creuzer and Moser), Diodorus, Dio Cassius, Lucian. What is wanted is a digest repeating nothing, nor preserving obsolete or worthless matter; references should be adapted to the best editions of each author, and space saved by the omission (as a general rule) of the Latin version which scholars used to append to their citations from Greek authors. Few now have patience to plod their way through the old folios or quartos of the heroes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; yet it will be an ill day for scholarship when Lambinus, Casaubon, Gronovius, Bentley, are known to students only by name. It would be work worthy of a university press to issue commentaries embodying the research of ages; the competition of school-books which repeat one another, is more profitable to the funds of our great presses, than to the advancement of learning. I have notes, ready to be worked into commentaries, on Seneca, Juvenal, Martial, the younger Pliny, Quintilian, and several other writers. It is time to equip such books as Xenophon's *Memorabilia* with notes dealing more with the matter than with the grammatical form. Isaac Casaubon, the ideal of a scholar, utters (Dedication to Persius) a warning far more needed now than three hundred years ago: *alii diverso erroris genere peccant, qui in lectione*

*antiquorum sapientum assidui sunt, non ut animum, sed ut ingenium excolant; non ut discant vivere, sed ut loqui; neque ut meliores ab illis discedant, sed ut doctiores tantum; qui denique grammaticorum solum oculis scripta eorum legunt, qui de virtute praeicipiunt.* If R. Kühner had taken these words to heart, he would have deserved better of Xenophon and Cicero, and of scholarship.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

## THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF MARTIAL'S EPIGRAMS.

To an editor of a Latin author there is no more troublesome question than the question of orthography. Is that spelling to be adopted which is best established by inscriptions of the author's time? Or are the best MSS. to be followed? Or should we rigidly adhere to the forms recommended in Brambach's standard book (by this time unfortunately a little antiquated) on Latin Orthography? The difficulty about the evidence of inscriptions is that their spelling varies with their nature. A legal or official inscription will affect obsolete forms like *aīdilis* for *aedilis*, *loedus* for *ludus*, in much the same way as an antique diction, e.g. the third singular verb in '-eth', is affected in our own legal documents. A plebeian epitaph will offer spellings that were no part of the literary language of the time. And the evidence of MSS. is still more uncertain. Everyone who has made any study of Latin Carolingian MSS. knows that it was the practice of the 'corrector' in the 'scriptorium' to revise the spelling of a transcript, however faithfully transcribed from the original, and adapt it to the recognized orthography, possibly the orthography recommended by the text-books of Bede or Alcuin. The 'corrector' would rightly alter debased Merovingian forms like *hostes* (Nom. Sing.) for *hostis*, *aptu* for *at tu*, but would wrongly alter spellings like *adtuli*, *hostis* (Acc. Pl.). If the archetype of our MSS. of a Latin author happens to have been a Carolingian MS. revised by a 'corrector' in this fashion, the 'consensus' of all existing MSS. goes for very little. Considering the uncertainty attaching to the evidence of inscriptions on the one hand and of MSS. on the other, it is no wonder that many editors in despair

resort to the 'orthographia Brambachiana'. By so doing they can at least insure themselves against the risk of harbouring any Late Latin spellings; and, if they make their editions for school purposes, the use of a uniform spelling undoubtedly is of great practical service. If however they aim at something more than this, at reproducing as faithfully as possible what the Latin author actually wrote, then it is obvious that the course they follow is the one course that cannot possibly be right. Latin spelling was not fixed as our spelling has to all intents and purposes been, since the invention of printing. It was mainly a phonetic spelling, and therefore so long as the pronunciation fluctuated, the spelling fluctuated too. The earliest specimen of a Latin book that has been preserved to modern times, the Herculanean papyrus fragment (c. 50 A.D.) of the 'Carmen de Bello Aegyptiaco', shews even in its few lines a variety of spelling (e.g. *impetus*, *imperium* but *inpuheris*; -is in Acc. Pl. *segnis* but -es in Acc. Pl. *mares*; cf. *Class. Rev.* iv 442) that is without a parallel in printed books of the modern world; although a small amount of the same thing is still found, e.g. 'by-law' and 'bye-law', 'gaol' and 'jail'. And Latin spelling reflected also fluctuations of grammatical form. Just as English books, of the period when the new Plural 'shoes' began to replace the old Plural 'shoon', would exhibit the two spellings side by side, so Latin books would shew rival Accusative Plural forms like *hostis* and *hostes* throughout the whole period during which the Consonant-Stem Suffix -es was dispossessing the I-Stem Suffix -is. We have ancient testimony<sup>1</sup> that Virgil in this and that line preferred the one form to the other for the sake of the rhythm. But we scarcely require express testimony to this practice of Virgil. We can hardly imagine Virgil or indeed any Latin poet to have done otherwise.

Editors of Latin poetry must therefore feel that they are sacrificing something, if through despair of eliciting the truth from the evidence of MSS. or inscriptions, or through dislike of the trouble of collecting this evidence, or out of regard for the practical requirements of education, they force upon their

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius *N.A.* xiii xxi. He ascribes the remark to Probus.

author a uniform 'orthographia Brambachiana'. There is of course a vast difference between the manuscript evidence for different authors; but, as a rule, a careful sifting of the best manuscript tradition leaves a residue of facts and indications which it is unwise to ignore. The words of the Göttingen editor of Plautus are words of experience: 'exaequare scripturam magis periculosum duxi quam inaequalem relinquere'.

To editors of Martial there can be no question about the matter. They must of necessity try to discover and reproduce the variations of spelling to which the poet gave preference. When a poem is, like the Epigram, confined to the narrow compass of a couplet, or a quatrain, or an octave, one may be sure that not merely every word but every syllable would be chosen with deliberation. Unless the manuscript evidence is patently and utterly unreliable, the idea of setting it wholly aside and adopting a featureless uniformity of spelling cannot be entertained for one moment. For example, at XII 77, 4 there is a notable 'consensus' of the MSS. of one family in the spelling *-vo-* instead of *-vu-* in the phrase *divom genitor*. The antique form adds piquancy to the passage, and to force the normal form *divum* into the line would be much the same fault as to print 'lady' instead of 'ladye' in such a phrase as 'the knight and the fair ladye'.

By a singular good fortune our manuscript evidence for the text of Martial stands in an almost unique position of excellence. We have three separate families of MSS. and each family represents the text not merely of a separate mediaeval archetype but of a separate ancient edition. The exact date of one edition we know, 401 A.D., and the name of the editor, Torquatus Gennadius. The other two are more likely<sup>1</sup> to be earlier than later in date, and the text of one of them, the edition represented by our MSS. *H*, *T*, *R*, is clearly of a high order of merit, although unfortunately our manuscript evidence for this particular text is the weakest. The MSS. exhibiting the other texts are numerous enough to enable us to reconstruct the exact form of their two archetypes, belonging

<sup>1</sup> Details regarding these three Editions of Martial (Oxford, Parker, editions will be found in my *Ancient* 1903).

respectively, we may suppose, to the 8th or 9th and the 9th or 10th centuries. Of course the three archetypes have, each in its own way, diverged from the spelling of the ancient edition. For example, the archetype descended from the edition of Gennadius shews a tendency (at what period in the history of the text it asserted itself we cannot say) to 'assimilate' in certain compounds, e.g. *illudo*. In I 103, 11

in ius o fallax atque infitiator eamus,

the words *in ius o* were at some time or other<sup>1</sup> miscopied as *inluso*. The archetype, a Lombard minuscule MS. (of the 9th or 10th century probably), offered *illuso*, for this is the spelling of all the four existing MSS. of this family. This patent alteration of the traditional spelling shews us that we need not ascribe to Gennadius spellings like *illudas* in XII 53, 9 where the other archetypes had *inludas*. That *-is* might be capriciously changed to *-es* we may perhaps conclude from such readings as *pestes* (C<sup>A</sup>) for *pestis* (Nom. Sing. mistaken for Acc. Pl.) in I 78, 1 (cf. *tenues* for *tenuis* in IV 22 6), unless they are rather Merovingian misspellings. And a seemingly correct spelling may be due to a mediaeval 'corrector': as in v 27, 2, where *plebis* had been miswritten *phebis*, we find in C<sup>A</sup> *phoebis*.

On the other hand we may perhaps ascribe to the ancient editions themselves a variety of spelling like *pollinctor* (in the best family of MSS.) and *pollector* (in the other two families, miswritten *collector* in the B<sup>A</sup> archetype) in X 97, 3. A consensus of two, or even, on rare occasions, of all three archetypes in a Late Latin spelling may possibly reflect merely the debased spelling of the common source of the different editions. It may equally be the result of later transcribers having independently chanced upon the same form of spelling, the form most familiar to the transcribers themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Since capital (or uncial) I was often extremely like capital (or uncial) L, and since the early minuscule 'tall' form of *i*, used for *j* (especially intervocalic) and for initial *i* (especially

before *n*), was in most cases indistinguishable from minuscule *l*, this miscopying may belong either to the ancient or the mediaeval period.

Considerations of this sort must be kept in mind while we examine the evidence of the three archetypes. The examination however cannot fail to leave the impression that, after due allowance has been made for the possibility of Late Latin spellings in the common source of the two inferior ancient editions or of the encroachment of the same errors at different periods of the transcription of the different texts, there remains a very satisfactory material for reconstructing the actual orthography of the poet, a task in which we are aided by the abundant evidence of contemporary inscriptions.

Having recently had occasion in preparing an edition of Martial to go fully into these unattractive details, I think it may be worth while to make as complete a record of statistics as is practicable. This will be of service to the editors of those poets, contemporaries of Martial, whose text has not been so satisfactorily preserved, e.g. Juvenal, Statius, Silius Italicus. And it may secure for us one spot of firm footing in the treacherous sand of Latin orthography. A record of the kind has already been made by Dr Gilbert in the Preface to Friedlaender's edition of the epigrams (pp. 108 sqq.); but since that publication more has been learnt regarding the readings of the already known manuscripts of Martial and a new codex, a veritable 'codex optimus', has quite recently come to light<sup>1</sup>. The evidence of the inscriptions on a number of points of orthography, has been collected by Professor Buck of Chicago University in the thirteenth volume of the *Classical Review*, pp. 116 sqq., 156 sqq.

A few words are necessary to explain the principles on which the following lists have been compiled. One of the archetypes of our MSS. of Martial, the archetype *A*<sup>4</sup>, is represented only by three MSS. of excerpts, (1) *H* (a mere fragment), (2) *T* (a transcript of *H*, when *H* was complete), (3) *R*. The number of epigrams for which more than one of these three are in evidence is very small, and the number for which any of the three is in evidence is something like a half of Martial's writings. Where this archetype is not referred to in my lists, its evidence must be considered to be

<sup>1</sup> See the *Classical Review*, vol. xv pp. 413 sqq.

unprocurable. For the second archetype,  $B^4$ , the archetype which embodies the Gennadian recension of the text, I use the 12th century Lucca MS. (L) (now in Berlin) as witness, occasionally<sup>1</sup> appealing to the British Museum Renaissance codex (Q). For the third archetype  $C^A$ , I take the testimony of the Edinburgh MS. of the tenth century (E), with occasional<sup>2</sup> appeal to the eleventh century Leyden MS. (A). I use Friedlaender's glossary for ascertaining the number of each word's occurrences.

## I. GREEK WORDS.

A writer of 'vers de société' like Martial would naturally give preference to the correct Greek forms of the Greek words which he uses. His use of the Greek case-suffix in Proper Names and the like belongs to the domain of Grammar rather than Orthography. These spellings are often established by the metre, e.g. *-ōn* for *-um*. I will content myself with an example or two. The manuscript testimony points to *Hecaben* III 76, 4 (*LE*, *-ubam T*; but *Hecubam* III 32, 3 *LE*); possibly *Iros* VI 77, 1 (*heros T*, *irus LE*; but *Irus* XII 32, 9, *A<sup>4</sup> n. l.*); *Europes buæta* II 14, 15 (*L*, *-pae E*; but *Europæ buæos* III 20, 12 *LE*). Martial recognized neither 'Palladis' (in I 76, 7 *-is E*, wrongly) nor 'Palladem', neither 'Babylonis' (XIV 150, 2 *-os T*, *-is LE*) nor 'Babylonem', but only *Pallados*, *Pallada*, *Babylonos*, *Babylona*<sup>3</sup>. *Geryonen* V 65, 12 (*E*, *-em LQA*; V 49, 11 *-em TLQE*) is doubtful. *Leandros* is apparently Martial's form (Spect. xxv b, 2, *-os H*, *-us R*; XIV 181 tit. and v. 1 *-os T*, *-er EQ*). Also *Cypros*, *Cypron*, *Ephesos*, *Tyros*, etc.; but always *Hermaphroditus*, *Parthenopæus*, *Phoebus*, *Priapus*, etc. The vocative of *Thyestes* is in our editions *Thyesta* at IV 49, 4 *cenam*, crude *Thyesta*, *tuam*, but in the MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Renaissance MSS. are notoriously unsafe guides in matters of orthography. *L* is the only pre-Renaissance representative of the  $B^A$  archetype.

<sup>2</sup> *A* is the most faithful transcript of the  $C^A$  archetype after *E*. Schneide-  
win's account of the readings of *X*

is full of inaccuracies. Dr Gilbert has put too much reliance on it.

<sup>3</sup> He allows only *Myronos* (IV 39, 2 *-os E*, *-os L*; VI 92, 2 *-os LE*; VIII 51, 1 *-os E*, *-es L*), but on the other hand only *Mentoris* (III 41, 1 and VIII 51, 1 *LE*, *A<sup>4</sup> n. l.*) with *Mentora* (XI 11, 5).

*Thyeste*. *Libye* (the nominative form required in each occurrence by the metre), *Libyes* (v 74, 2  $B^A C^A$ , -ae, -e  $A^A$ ) is Martial's declension, not 'Libya', 'Libyae'. A notable Genitive form is *Praxitelus* iv 39, 3 (*LE*,  $A^A$  n. l.). While *Massilia* is the invariable form of the noun, we have *Massalitanum* in the heading of xiii 123 (-al- *TL*, -il- *E*; but *Massilitanis* iii 82, 23 *LE*,  $A^A$  n. l.). The indications of the spelling *Menphis* (viii 36, 2 *L*; vi 80, 3 *LE*; xiv 38, 1 *L*; xiv 150, 1 *TL*) are unmistakable; but whether *Mytilene* or *Mitylene* was Martial's spelling can hardly be ascertained from the MSS. (x 68, 1 -ythy- *T*, -iti-  $B^A$ ,  $C^A$  n. l.; vii 80, 9 -itu- *L*, -iti- *E*). *Sagyntum* is the spelling in iv 46, 15 ( $C^A$ , -gynth- *L*), but elsewhere *Sacuntinus* or *Sag-* (viii 6, 2 -ngu- *L*, -cu- *E*; xiv 108 tit. -gu- *L*, -ru- *E*; xiv 108, 2 -gu- *L*, -cu- *E*). The noun *Syria* (x 76, 2 *LE*) and adjective *Syrius* (iv 43, 7 *TLE*) shew *y*, but we find *Surus* for 'a Syrian slave' (ix 22, 9 *E*, -y- *L*; vii 53, 10 sui  $C^A$ , syri *L* ex corr.; ix 2, 11 -y- *LE*) beside *Syra lagona* iv 46, 9, *Syrorum* 'natives of Syria' v 78, 13. The substitution of *Maron* (iv 79) for *Maro* (xi 67) seems due to metrical necessity. The same person is apparently referred to (cf. the neighbouring epigrams in each case, iv 78 and xi 68). For *tessera*  $B^A$  offers occasionally -ar- (iv 66, 15 -er- *TE*, -ar- *L*; viii 78, 10 -ar- *L*, -er- *E*; xiii 1, 5 -er- *TLE*; xiv 15 -er- *TLE*; xiv 17, 1 -er- *TLE*).

See also section viii on *zmaragdus*.

### § 1. Aspirate Consonants.

*Coturnus* is the invariable spelling (e.g. viii 3, 13 *TLEA*). The word seems, like *tus* (for *θύος*), to have retained the unaspirated consonant that was normal in the early Latin transliteration. *Barathrum* is attested in iii 81, 1 (*L*, -tr- *E*), but not in i 87, 4 (-tr- *TLE*), where the phrase *a barathro* was probably understood by scribes as *ab aratro*. *Cantus* (*κανθός*) is the spelling in the single occurrence of the word (xiv 168, 2 *TQEA*). *Coclea* is better attested than *cochlea*, which  $C^A$  occasionally offers (viii 33, 25 coel- *TRL*, cod- for coel- *E*; xi 18, 23 coel- *TL*, cochl- *E*; xiii 53, 2 coel- *TL*, cochl- *E*;

IV 46, 11 *calcis* for *cocleis* *L*, *cholceis* *E*; XIV 124, 1 *cocl-* *TL*, *chocl-* *EA*); similarly *cocleare* (XIV 121 tit. *cocl-* *TL*, *cochl-* *E*; XIV 121, 2 *cocl-* *TL*, *chocl-* *E*; VIII 33, 24 *cocl-* *TRL*, *cod-* for *cocl-* *E*; VIII 71, 10 *cocl-* *TLE*). There is usually attestation of the correct spelling of *distichum*.

The word *ophthalmicus* occurs only once (VIII 74, 1 *opta-* *R*, *obta-* *L*, *optha-* *E*); so does *pthisicus* (XI 21, 7 *psitico* *T*, *pahisico* for *pth-* *L*, *phitico* *E*); and *tetrastichum* (VII 85, 1 -*c-* *RLE*). *Thermae* is quite well attested; also *schola* (I 35, 2 *sc-* *LE*; II 64, 7 *sc-* *TL*, *sch-* *E*; III 20, 8 *sc-* *LE*; IV 61, 3 *sc-* *TE*, *sch-* *L*).

See also section VIII on *Atlans*, *Thalassio*, *Tiberis*, *Mithridates*, *coturnix*, *pulcher*, *rhonchus*, *schida*, *sepulchrum*, *sulphur*.

## § 2. *y* for Greek *v*.

The evidence speaks strongly for *bybliopola* (IV 72, 2 *LE*, *bibly-* *T*; XIII 3, 4 *TE*, *bibli-* *LQ*; XIV 194, 2 *TE*, *bibli-* *R*). *Bybliotheca* (XIV 190, 2 *TR*<sup>1</sup>, *bibli-* *R*<sup>2</sup>*E*) seems to be the spelling of *A*<sup>4</sup>, *bibliotheca* (VII 17, 1 *LQEA*; XII pr. 11 *LQE*; IX pr. 3 *L*, *C*<sup>4</sup> *n. l.*) of *B*<sup>4</sup>*C*<sup>4</sup>. *Crystallum* appears to have been Martial's spelling (e.g. IX 73, 5 *TE*, *cri-* *LA*).

See also section VIII on *Ansur*, *hybrida*, *murra*, *Sulla*, *Tiberis* (*Thyber-*).

## § 3. *cn* for Greek *κν*.

For initial *κν-* we have *Gnosia* (?) IX 34, 7 (*E*, *Gn-* *LA*) and *Gnosia* XIII 106, 1 (*TLE*), *Unidia* (?) XIII 66, 2 (*sic nitidae* *B*<sup>4</sup>, *si gnidia* *RE*).

For medial *-κν-*, *cycnus* (the spelling of *C*<sup>4</sup>, while *A*<sup>4</sup>*B*<sup>4</sup> have *-gn-*) is likely to have been Martial's choice, since he affects the exact transliteration of Greek words (e.g. I 115, 2 -*gn-* *TL*, -*cn-* *EA*; III 43, 2 -*gn-* *RL*, -*cn-* *EA*; V 37, 1 -*gn-* *TL*, -*cn-* *EA*).

## II. ANTIQUE FORMS.

In the first century of the Empire a number of Republican spellings still shewed themselves with more or less frequency,

such as *o* for *u* in *voltus*, *servos* (Nom. Sing.) etc., *u* for *i* in *decuma*, etc., *e* for *i* in *neglego*, etc., *-is* in Acc. Plur. of I-stems, double *s* in *caussa*, etc., *ns* in *totiens*, *vicensumus*, etc.

### § 1. *o* for *u*.

In Late Latin *ũ* became *o* (cf. Ital. *mondo* for Lat. *mundus*) and nothing is commoner in MSS. of the Merovingian period than misspellings like *domos* for *domus* or *domus* for *domos*. To this Late Latin confusion of the two vowels should be referred, e.g. VIII 30, 4 *manos* (LP), IX 11, 4 *nidus* Acc. Plur. (C<sup>4</sup>). On the other hand the following, among others, seem genuine Republican spellings: I 8, 2 *salvos* (L<sup>1</sup>); VI 21, 5 *lascivom*, of a god (E); VII 35 *servos* (in v. 1 E; in v. 3 L); XII 77, 4 *divom* (E); and the paucity of examples may be partly due to the 'corrector' in the scriptorium who was accustomed to weed out Merovingian misspellings like *manos* from transcripts made for the monastery library.

There are far more instances preserved of *vo* in other syllables than the final. Thus *volsellae* (IX 27, 5 L, uel- E) and *volva* (VII 20, 11 uu- L, uo- E; XI 61, 11 uol- L, ul- E; XIII 56 uu- TL, uo- EA) have *vo*- attested in each passage. The same may almost be said of *volpes* (IV 4, 11 uu- T, uo- LE; X 37, 13 uo- L, uu- E; X 100, 3 uu- TLE); *volsus* (II 29, 6 uo- L, uu- E; II 36, 6 uu- R, uo- LE; III 63, 6 uo- LE; VIII 47, 2 uu- RLE). But *volgus* (I praef. vers. 2 uo- L, uu- E; VI 38, 6 uu- LQEA; IX 22, 2 uu- E, B<sup>4</sup> n. l.; X 93, 3 uu- LE; VIII 18, 1 vulgo (Adv.), uu- TLE); *volnus* (I 13, 3 uu- TLE; I 60, 4 uo- L, uu- E; II 84, 2 uo- L, uu- E; IX 86, 6 uu- LE; XI 78, 6 uu- TLE; Spect. xii, 3 uu- T; xiii, 1 uu- T; xiv, 2 uu- T; xv, 7 uu- T), *volt* and *voltus* (the instances are too numerous to quote) have not at all the same proportion of spellings with *o*.

In the two occurrences of *vultur* (VI 62, 4 uu- LE; IX 27, 2 uu- LE) the older form is not found; nor in the single occurrence of *Vulcanus* (v 7, 5 uu- LEA). It would seem that in the case of *volgus*, *volnus*, *volt*, *voltus* both forms were used by Martial, and the rule for an editor will be to print *vo*-

in these passages only in which some archetype or other attests this spelling. This rule however has this disadvantage. The A<sup>A</sup> archetype ignores the *vo*-forms, so that in the *Spectacula*, where this archetype alone is in evidence, the *vu*-forms will predominate in our editions far more than they did in Martial's copy. It is questionable whether it would not be wiser to print the *vo*-forms alone. Undoubtedly the amount of survival of the older, unfamiliar spelling in our extant MSS. is hardly less than might be expected if Martial had spelt with *vo*- in every passage. *Servolus* (cf. *Naevolus*) occurs twice (VIII 75, 6 -uu- *LE*; IX 87, 5 -uo- *L*, -uu- *E*).

Between spellings like *equos* (Nom. Sing.) and *equus* it is well known that the spelling *ecus* intervened. The manuscript tradition of Martial points to *cocus*, *coci*, *coco*, etc.: *ecus*, and perhaps *equs*, *equos*, but always *equi*, *equo*, etc. (*ecum* IX 22, 14 *E*, *equum* B<sup>A</sup>; *equs* XIV 55, 2 *A*, *equus* *TLE*; *equs* XIV 199, 2 *A*, *equos* *T*, *equus* *EQ*, *L n. l.*; *equum* V 23, 8 *LE*; *equus* IX 101, 18 *L*, *aqua* C<sup>A</sup>).

*Anticus* is the spelling of the C<sup>A</sup> family in the only two decisive instances (V 22, 4 *anticum* *EA*, *antiquum* *L*; XI 11, 4 *anticus* *EA*, *antiquus* *L*); *secuntur*, *persecuntur*, *cocuntur*, the only attested spelling in the single occurrences of the words (III 58, 20 *LE*; XI 98, 2 *LE*; XIII 115, 1 *LE*, *coluntur* for *cocuntur* *T*); *relicum* is attested by C<sup>A</sup> in I 49, 41, the single instance (*reliquum* *LQ*); similarly *maguilocus* by C<sup>A</sup> (II 43, 2 -quus *LQ*). But *aequum* (I 114, 5 *E*, B<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*; X 76, 1 *LE*).

See also in section VIII *Laomedon*, *epistola*.

## § 2. *u*, later *i*.

The evidence points clearly to *decuma* (*hora*, &c.), beside *decim*-. The older form is best preserved in B<sup>A</sup>. Here is a full list of instances: *decuma hora* (I 108, 9 *EA*, -un- *L*, -im- *Q*; III 36, 5 *L*, -im- *TE*; IV 8, 7 *L*, -im- *E*; VII 51, 11 B<sup>A</sup>, -im- *E*; XI 79, 1 *L*, -im- *E*; X 70, 13 *L*, C<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*), *decuma bruma* (VII 65, 1 *EL*, -im- *T*), *decumus annus* (VIII 71, 11 *LE*, -im- *T*), *decimus libellus* (X 2, 1 *LQE*; XII 5, 1 *L*, C<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*), *decimus vir* (VI 7, 4 *TLQE*), *decimus lapis* (IV 57, 4 *TLQE*).

Similarly *monumentum* and *monimentum* (I 34, 8 -u- *TLE*; I 88, 7 *momenta* for *monim-* *T*, *monim-* *LE*; IX 34, 7 -u- *LE*; X 2, 12 -u- *TL*, -i- *E*; XI 48, 1 -i- *LE*, -u- *Q*; XIV 96, 1 -i- *E*, *B<sup>A</sup>* n. l.). *Irrumo* is the spelling of *C<sup>A</sup>*, *irrimo* of *B<sup>A</sup>*: the evidence of *A<sup>A</sup>* is lacking. *Satura* (XI 10, 1 -u- *L*, -y- *E*, -i- *A*; XII 94, 7 -u- *T*, -i- *L*, -y- *E*) is spelt with *y* (*i*?) in *C<sup>A</sup>*.

The only spelling offered by the MSS. is *aestimo*; *carnifex*; *infirmus* (I praef. 3 *infirm-* *LE*); *lacrima*; *maximus*; *manifestus*; *quadripes* (XIII 92, 2 -i- *TRLE*); *victima*.

*Cliens* never shews the old form with *u* for *i*; nor does *clipeus* in its single occurrence (IX 56, 5, -i- *L*, -y- *E*).

See also section VIII on *defrutum*.

### § 3. *e*, later *i*.

In Late Latin *e* and *i* were confused like *o* and *u* (cf. Ital. *pesce* for Lat. *piscis*), and MSS. written before the Carolingian Revival of Learning are full of misspellings like 'pesces' for *piscis*. Instances like *detenuisse* (VII 93, 4 *T*) should probably be referred to Late Latin orthography. But *neglego* is rightly attested (VI 68, 9 *TLE*; XII 87, 2 *LE*; VI 42, 23 *LE*; XII 49, 8 *LE*); and, in the single occurrences of the words, *intellegat* (X 21, 1 *LE*), *genetrix* (V 34, 1 *TRE*, -ni- *LQ*); in the two occurrences, *meretrix* (I 34, 5 *TLE*; I 35, 9 *LE*); in the single occurrence, *tremebundus* (IX 92, 5 *T*, -mib- *LE*): and there is a possibility of the correctness of *elego* (II 21, 2 *T*, -i- *LE*; elsewhere *eligo* only); *redemo* (I 8, 5 *T*, -im- *LE*; VI 71, 6 *redemit L*, *redimet E*; IX 32, 3 -im- *TLE*; VI 60, 8 -im- *TLE*).

### § 4. -is Acc. Plur.

The change of -is to -es in the Acc. Plur. of Nouns and Adjectives of the Third Declension was not a mere change of pronunciation like the rival forms which we have hitherto been considering. It was a grammatical change. The distinction between the Acc. Plur. terminations of I-stems (with Gen. Plur. in -ium) and Consonant Stems (with Gen. Plur. in -um) was abandoned and the Consonant Stem termination was exclusively adopted. It was a change in the language like

that which is being carried out in our own language at the present day in the Verb. The distinction between the Subjunctive and the Indicative Mood is being abandoned and we are coming to adopt exclusively the Indicative, substituting, 'if he was', etc. for 'if he were', etc. Just as the pages of any English writer of the day exhibit the two forms, with a marked preponderance of the Indicative, so Roman writers of the first century had not yet wholly discarded the forms in *-is*. There is a large number of examples of *-is* in the Acc. Plur. of I-stems attested by the MSS. But it would be unwise to print this form invariably, so striking is the consensus of the three archetypes in some lines for *-es*, as in others for *-is*. Martial would naturally avail himself of the freedom of choice and select now the one form, now the other, as better suited to the rhythm of the line or to the tone of the passage.

### § 5. *ss, ll.*

The use of double for single *s* is a feature of the A<sup>A</sup> archetype (or at least of *H*), e.g. '*Caessar*' passim, '*possita*' Spect. xxix, 5, so that it is doubtful how much weight should be attached to such unsupported spellings as *lussus*, the Noun, in i 3, 10 (*lussos H*, *lusus LE*), *accussas* III 13, 3, the only instance of this verb (*T*, *accusas LE*), *frondossa* in Spect. xxvii, 3 (*H*). The doubling of *s* is not unknown in *L* (e.g. '*cassia*' always, instead of *cāsia*; '*prassinus*').

*Caussa* is the spelling of *E* in III 66, 5 (*-s- L*), but *causa* (e.g. x 36, 8 *TRLE*, II 11, 10 *TLE*, III 38, 1 *TLE*, III 46, 7 *TLE*, IV 36, 2 *RLE*, etc. etc.) is the invariable spelling of all the MSS. in all the numerous remaining instances of the word (also *causari*, *causidicus*). Similarly *E* offers *caessus* in VII 28, 2 (*-s- L*), but *caesus* is found elsewhere (x 73, 6 *LE*; VII 80, 10 *L*, *caecus C<sup>1</sup>*). *Excusso* is the A<sup>A</sup> spelling (III 18, 2 *T*; *-s- LE*; II 79, 2 *R*, *-s- LE*), but *excuso* the invariable spelling of B<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup>.

If we consider how readily a spelling like *caussa* would be removed from a transcript by a mediaeval 'corrector', we shall, I think, be inclined to believe that genuine Republican spellings like *caussa*, *accussare* were admitted somewhat more frequently

by Martial than they appear in the existing MSS. *Plaussus* is attested in VII 64, 9 (*E*, -s- *LA*), but only *plausus* elsewhere.

In the conjugation of *mitto* we may notice *mississet* (*E*) for *admississet* in v 69, 4, *mississe* (*E*: -s- *TL*) in v 19, 11.

*Usus*, the Noun, appears as *ussus* in XIII 10, 1 (*EA*, -s- *RL*). There are so few occurrences of *paulum*, *paulisper* that we cannot say whether the absence of the form with double *l* is an accident or not,

See also section VIII on *Pollio*, *besalis*, *criso*, *milia*, *vilicus*, *vigesis*, *Messalla*, *Tartesiacus*.

### § 6. *ns*.

*Quotiens* is the invariable spelling; similarly *totiens*. The instances are too numerous to quote.

*Centies* is normal (I 99, 4 *TLE*; I 99, 9 *TLE*; VIII 42, 3 *LQEA*), but there are occasional traces of the older spelling -*ens* (v 70, 2 *L*<sup>1</sup>; -es *L*<sup>2</sup>*QEA*; v 70, 5 *L*<sup>1</sup>, -es *L*<sup>2</sup>*QEA*; VI 49, 5 *L*<sup>1</sup>, -es *L*<sup>2</sup>*QEA*). The same is true of *decies*, the older *deciens* being attested in III 52, 3 (*E*, -es *L*), IX 82, 5 (*L*<sup>1</sup>*EA*, -es *L*<sup>2</sup>*T*), IX 93, 5 (*L*, -es *EA*). In the single occurrences of the words, the spelling is *ducentiens* (v 37, 24 *L*, -es *EA*), *octiens* (VIII 64, 2 *TA*, -ies *LE*), *quinqüies* (XII 75, 8 *LE*); *trecenties* (III 22, 1 *LE*); *undecies* (v 79, 1—2 *TLE*). *Milies* has -*es* in one occurrence (I 99, 17 *TLE*), -*ens* in the other (XII 10, 1 *E*, -es *L*). *Quindecies* has -*es* in its two occurrences (VII 10, 15 *RLE*; x 23, 2 *TLE*); *triciens* has -*ens* (IV 37, 4 *E*, -es *L*; v 39, 1 *E*, -es *L*); *vicies* has -*es* (I 99, 1 *TLE*; XII 77, 10 *LE*).

The spelling *formonsus* is a feature of *A*<sup>4</sup> (at least of *T*, for *R* affects *formosus*, e.g. v 29, 2 -*ns*- *T*, -s- *RLE*), but is found occasionally in the other archetypes too (e.g. III 76, 2 *TL*, -s- *RE*; VIII 49, 1 *TA*<sup>1</sup>, -s- *LE*; VII 29, 3 *A*, -s- *LE*). Some editors regard this form, not as a survival of the old Republican spelling but as a Late Latin recrudescence.

*Sexagensima messis* is attested in IV 78, 1 (*EA*, -es- *TRL*), but only *sexagesima messis* in VI 70, 1 (*LE*). We have *tricentimus consul* (I 15, 3 *LE*), but *tricesima lux* (VI 7, 3 *LE*), *tricesima aestas* (x 103, 7 *LE*).

See also section VIII on *vesica*.

§ 7. *-st, -s* for *est, es*.

This is not strictly speaking an antique form, for it was as much a feature of colloquial speech of all periods as with us a form like 'he's' for 'he is'. Still we perhaps associate this spelling with the older poets, Plautus, Lucretius, Virgil. There is clear evidence of it in more than one passage of Martial, e.g. VIII 70, 1 *tantast* (*tanta est L, tanta si E*); and it seems likely that the true explanation of a discrepancy like *nimum est (L)* and *nimum (TE)* in XI 22, 4 is that what Martial wrote was *nimumst*.

§ 8. *ii* for *-j-*.

There is no substantial evidence, so far as I know, of forms like '*aiio*', '*Maiius*', '*maior*' in Martial.

See also section VIII on *peiero*.

III. *-d* and *-t*.

The precise extent to which forms like *set* were employed by Martial is difficult to ascertain. For these conjunctions are often written in our MSS. in contracted form, and the correct expansion of the contraction is doubtful. And the proneness of scribes to alter the unfamiliar form *set* to the familiar *sed* may be illustrated by the reading of *C<sup>d</sup>* in IX 83, 4, where *se tibi*, miswritten in the original of the archetype *set ibi*, has become *sed ibi*. But we have occasionally clear evidence, e.g. *quod* for *quot* X 30, 26 (*LE*), *ad* for *at* III 67, 8 (*LE*). In VI 18, 3 we even find a consensus of two archetypes in *reliquid (RE)* for *reliquit*.

## IV. ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANT IN GROUP.

The principle which guided the Latin spelling of Compound Verbs has been excellently stated by Prof. Buck in the *Classical Review*, vol. XIII. pp. 156 sqq.

There was no hard and fast rule that each and every compound with, let us say, the preposition *ad*, should or should not assimilate the final consonant of the preposition to the

initial consonant of the verb; nor even was the treatment invariable in the same groups of consonants. The meaning of the compound had a good deal to do with the matter, also its age and other considerations. Thus we find *adlego* but *alligo*.

### § 1. *bc, bf, bg.*

*Occido, occīdo, occasio, occupo, occurro, occumbo* are the only spellings recognized by Martial.

Similarly *succedo, succinctus, succurro*; but once *subcumbo* (Spect. xxix, 8 *HR*), elsewhere *succumbo* (xiv 201, 1 *TEQ*; xiii 64, 1 *RLE*).

*Suggero* occurs once and with this spelling (iii. 82, 8 *LE*).

Assimilation is also invariable with *-bf-*. The examples are *offendo, offero, sufficio, sufflavī* (iii 17, 4 *RLE*), *suffulta* (ix 2, 11 *LE*).

### § 2. *bm, bp, br.*

*Summitto* (viii 75, 11 *LE*; v 71, 1 *LE*) and *summoveo* (xi 96, 3 *L*, *C<sup>4</sup> n. l.*) seem to be the only recognized forms, though the evidence is scanty.

See also section viii on '*Summoenium*'.

. For *obpono* the evidence is very slight (x 85, 6 *T<sup>1</sup>*, opp- *T<sup>2</sup>LE*; opp- iii 68, 10 *TLE*; cf. *oppigneravit* ii 57, 7 *LE*; *oppressae* xiv 159, 1 *TLE*). It is much stronger for *subpono* (iii 91, 12 *E*, supp- *T<sup>1</sup>LA*: iv 66, 15 *E*, supp- *TL*; ii 46, 3 *T*, supp- *LE*; v 24, 8 *E*, supp- *L*; but supp- iii 91, 11 *TLE*).

*Subrideo* occurs once and with *-br-* (vi 82, 7 *LE*); once and with *-rr-* *surrexi*; but *subripio* is attested in every occurrence of the word (viii 59, 14 *T*, surr- *LE*; vi 72, 6 *L*, surr- *E*; xiii 38, 1 *RT*, surr- *E*, *B<sup>4</sup> n. l.*), like *abrumpo*.

### § 3. *bs.*

Compounds of *ab, ob* rarely shew *ps* in Martial.

In forms of *abesen* the spelling with *ps* is attested for *apsens* in x 92, 17 (*E*, -*bs-* *L*), vi 85, 12 (*E*, -*bs-* *TL*), *apsim* in x 87, 5 (*EA*, -*bs-* *T*, -*ds-* *B<sup>4</sup>*): in other passages the MSS. shew *bs*, e.g. *absens* in ix 37, 2 (*TLE*), *absim* in iii 4, 5 (*TLE*). Of *apstuli* the only trace is in xi 91, 6 (*abstulit L*, *aptilit C<sup>4</sup>*),

elsewhere always *bs*, e.g. VII 61, 1 (*TLE*), VI 88, 4 (*TLE*), XI 69, 7 (*TLE*), 93, 2 (*RTLE*). The only forms known to Martial are *abscido* (e.g. III 85, 1 *RTLE*; II 82, 1 *TLE*), *abscondo* (I 34, 8 *TLE*), *abstineo* and perhaps *absisto* (VII 15, 1, *absistit E*, *assistit B<sup>A</sup>*); but *apsolvo* is attested in XII 52, 10 (*EA*, -*bs-* *L*), elsewhere *absolvo* (e.g. IV 16, 7 *TLE*). In *obseruo*, *obscurus*, *obscenus* we find only -*bs-* (cf. *obsidet* II 17, 3 *LE*; *obstrepo* VII 18, 13 *TLE*; I 95, 1 *TLE*; *obserata* VII 20, 21 *LE*), but *opsto* (V 65, 1 *A*, *obs-* *L*; IV 59, 2 *E*, *obs-* *TL*; IV 29, 1 *E*, *obs-* *L*; but *obs-* I 87, 3 *TLE*). *Ostendo* is invariable (see section VIII on *suscensui*).

In final syllables Martial's use of *ps* is strongly attested: *Araps* Spect. iii, 7 (*T* ante corr.), III 65, 5 (*T*, -*bs* *LE*); *caeleps* or rather *celeps* (IV 69, 3 *celeps TLA*, *celebs E*; XII 63, 10 *E*, *B<sup>A</sup> n. l.*); but *plebs* (IV 2, 3 *LE*).

*Clepsydra* is the right spelling (VI 35, 1 *TLE*; VI 35, 6 *TRE*, -*bs-* *L*; VIII 7, 3 *TL*, -*bs-* *E*); and probably Martial would follow the Greek in his spelling of *opsonium*, *opsonator* (XIV 217 tit. -*bs-* *TRQ*, -*ps-* *EA*, *L n. l.*; III 23, 1 -*bs-* *LE*).

*Nupsi*, *scripsi* occasionally appear in the MSS. with *bs* (e.g. VII 58, 1 *nubsisti A*).

#### § 4. *bt*.

*Obticeo* (one occurrence, X 17, 4 *LE*); *subtraho* (I 42, 2 *TE*, *B<sup>A</sup> n. l.*; XI 58, 3 *TLE*); *subtilis* (*supt-*) (XI 100, 1 *sut-* *T*, *subt-* *LE*; XII praef. 11 *subt-* *L*, *supt-* *E*).

*Opto* occasionally appears in the MSS. with *bt* (e.g. VI 59, 3 *obtat E*); similarly *scriptus* (e.g. IX 44, 5 *inscribit ita* for *inscribta E*) and *aptus* (e.g. XIII 10, 2 *abta R*).

#### § 5. *db*.

There is no example of this combination.

#### § 6. *dc*, *dq*.

We have always *accedo*, *accipio*, *accido*, *accumbo*, *accubo*; but *quidquid* is well attested. Whether *quicquid* (e.g. I 68, 1 *TLE*, *quidquid A*; II 88, 2 *TL*, *quidquid RE*) is a genuine

variant or due to the occasional spelling *quitquit* (e.g. IX 59, 18 *quitquit E*, *quicquid L*) is uncertain.

### § 7. *df*.

Martial seems not to have assimilated. Here are the instances: *adfatus* Spect. xxv b, 3 (*HR*), *atfatus* v 3, 4 (*EA*: aff- *LQ*); *adfecit* XII 77, 6 (*E*: aff- *TL*); *adfectas* (2 Sing.) XI 32, 5 (*E*: aff- *TL*); *adfectasse* VIII praef. 12 (*F*: aff- *E*: *B*<sup>A</sup> n. l.); *adfers* IX 87, 3 (*E*: aff- *L*); *adfertur* III 50, 3 (*E*: aff- *L*); *adfirmas* VI 14, 2 (*E*: aff- *L*); *adfirmat* IV 21, 2 (*E*: aff- *L*); *adfligunt* VI 33, 4 (*E*: aff- *L*).

### § 8. *dg*.

*Adgnosco* seems to be Martial's spelling (VIII 3, 20 *adn- TX*, *agn- LE*, *adgn- A* (*Schn.*); IX 65, 1 *agn- LE*; x 12, 9 *cognoscendus B*<sup>A</sup>, *adnoscendus E*); and *adgestus* (VIII 57, 4 *E*; *agg- L*).

### § 9. *dl*.

Assimilation occurs in *alligo*, the invariable spelling (cf. Pliny's *adalligo*), but not in *adlatro* (II 61, 6 *LE*; v 60, 1 *LE*), *adludo* (III 19, 3 *TE*, *all- L*).

### § 10. *dm*.

The unassimilated *dm* is the invariable spelling, except that in III 17, 5 (*admittere RL*) the C<sup>A</sup> variant *amittere* seems to point to an earlier *ammittere* and *L* has in v 63, 3 *ammirror* for *admirror*, in v 69, 4 *ammisisset* for *admisisset*.

### § 11. *dn*.

Martial wrote *adn-*, not *ann-*. *Adnuo* (II 24, 8 *adn- RTE*, *ann- L*; IX 42, 7 *adn- EA*, *ann- LQ*) and *adnumero* (Spect. iv, 6 *T*; II 8, 4 *RLE*; XI 41, 8 *EA*, *ann- LQ*).

### § 12. *dp*.

Examples of this combination are not numerous, but the evidence points unmistakably to *adprobo* (VI 66, 5 *EA*, *app- L*), *adplico* (VI 28, 9 *EA*, *app- L*) on the one hand, and *apparo* (I 99, 12 *TLE*), *appello* (VII 92, 3 *TLE*), *appeto* (IX 26, 6 *LE*<sup>2</sup>, *ape- E*<sup>1</sup>) on the other.

§ 13. *dr.*

Martial wrote *adrideo* (vi 44, 3 *TE*, arr- *LQ*; xi 45, 2 *E*, arr- *LQ*), *adrogans* (v 8, 11 *EA*, arr- *L*), but always *arrigo* (*sensu obsceno*).

§ 14. *ds.*

That Martial allowed only *ads-* and not *ass-* is clear from the manuscript evidence, for the C<sup>A</sup> archetype had invariably *adsero*, *adsiduus*, *adsurgo* and probably also the A<sup>A</sup> archetype (but Spect. vii, 2 *assiduam T*, iv 18, 2 *assiduo T*); although the B<sup>A</sup> archetype shewed the assimilated form (but vii 63, 10 *abserto Q' ut vid.*; iii 5, 4 *adsiduum L*). As examples we may take *adserat* xiv 142, 2 (*TE*, ass- *L*), *adsertores* i 24, 3 (*TE*, ass- *L*), *adsidue* vi 46, 1 and xi 86, 2 (*TE*, ass- *L*), *adsueveram* xii praef. 8 (*E*, ass- *L*). The only other instance of the word is x 60, 2, where the testimony of C<sup>A</sup> is wanting and where *L* shews *assuetus*), *adsurgam* x 10, 9 (*E*, ass- *L*).

The word *ascendo* occurs once and with this spelling (xi 98, 19 *E*: B<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*), and *aspicio*, *aspernor* are the invariable forms; but we find *adscribo* (xiv 2, 3 *TE*, asc- *L*), *adsto* (viii 56, 13 *TE*; cf. abst- B<sup>A</sup>), *adstringo* (xi 39, 13 *EA*, abst- *T*, ast- *LQ*; i 49, 11 *LE*), *adstruo* (iii 20, 4 *E*, ast- *LQ*).

§ 15. *dt.*

Assimilation is invariable in *attonitus* (cf. *attingo* vii 63, 5 *LE*, and *attenuo* xiv 104, 1 *LE*, the only instances of these words), but there is some evidence of *adtuli* (x 48, 8 *E*, att- *TLA*) beside *attuli* (iii 13, 4 *TLE*; xii 29, 11 and 21 *L*: C<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*), *adtritrus* (viii 59, 2 *EA*, attr- *TL*) beside *attritus* (xiv 125, 2 *TE*, atr- *L*; cf. x 72, 2 atr- *L*, C<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*), and more of *adtendo* (vi 42, 22 *EA*, att- *L*), *adtraho* (vi 66, 6 *EA*, attr- *L*).

§ 16. *mb* and *nb.*

*Inbellis* is Martial's only spelling (xiii 94, 2 *TLE*; vii 58, 5 *LE*; iv 74, 1 *TEA*, ib- *L*), to which we may perhaps add *conbibe* (x 12, 7 *conuiue C<sup>A</sup>*, cōb- *L*).

*Inbuo* is the C<sup>A</sup> spelling (xiii 8, 1 *E*, imb- *TRL*; vii 26, 4 *E*, imb- *L*), but *imbuo* in viii 51, 17 (*LE*).

§ 17. *nl*.

*Conlatus* is the only spelling used by Martial (II 71, 5 *TE*; III 52, 3 *E*; IV 11, 10 *EA*; XI 72, 2 *EA*), and *conloco* (IV 87, 2 *TE*; V 65, 10 *EA*; VII 20, 9 *EA*; I 113, 3 *E*), although *B*<sup>4</sup> always shews *collatus*, *colloco*. So *conlapsa* (I 12, 7 *E*, cuml- *T*, coll- *LQ*), *conlucent* (II 46, 3 *TE*, *B*<sup>4</sup> *n. l.*). On the other hand *collega* with *ll* (VII 37, 7 *TLE*), and invariably *colligere*.

Of compounds with the Negative *in* we have *inlotus* (VIII 67, 5 *RLE*; VI 42, 2, 24 *EA*, ill- *LQ*), *inlaesus* (XIV 200, 2 *TE*, ill- *Q*; VII 2, 7 *RE*, ill- *L*; IX 90, 14 *E*, ill- *L*; I 6, 2 *E*, ill- *L*). With the Preposition, *inlustro* (XIV 41, 1 *TE*, ill- *L*) and *inligo* (I 49, 23 *E*, ill- *L*) are the only instances.

§ 18. *mm* and *nm*.

Assimilation of this group is so invariable in Martial, *communis*, *commodus*, *committo*, *comminiscor*, *comminus*, *commendo*, that the isolated spelling *comendo* offered by *L* in x 92, 4 (*comendo Q*) can hardly be anything but a scribe's error. Of course the spelling is very often *cōm-*, but when written without abbreviation *comm-* is always found.

With Negative *in-* we have *inmaturus* (IX 8, 5 *LE*), *inmensus* (VIII 65, 10 *LE*; IX 45, 5 *LE*; XIV 186, 1 *TRE*), *inmeritus* (VII 32, 6 *LE*; VI 2, 2 *TL*, iam *m. C*<sup>4</sup>), *inmodicus* (II 56, 2 *LE*; VII 28, 4 *LE*; II 43, 11 *E*, imm- *L*; III 60, 7 *TLE*; x 48, 4 *LE*; II 90, 6 *E*; VI 29, 7 *LE*; III 100, 3 *E*), *inmortalis* (IX 93, 1 *LE*), *inmotus* (v 31, 5 *T*), *inmundus* (I 92, 10 *TLE*; III 24, 6 *TE*; XIV 50, 1 *LE*), but *immemor* in the single occurrence of the word (IV 82, 3 *EL*). The preposition changes *n* to *m* in *immineo* (two examples), but not in *inmixtus* in its single occurrence, Spect. xxi, 5 (*H*).

§ 19. *mp* and *np*.

In compounds with *cum* there would be a strong tendency for *conp-*, if written *cōp-* or *ēp-*, to become *comp-*. The latter abbreviation might also become *cum p-*, since *ē* was an abbreviation of *cum* as well as of *con-*. But we have quite as much evidence of the spelling *conp-* as could be expected to survive;

and it may be that Martial invariably spelt with *n*, not *m*. Here are the instances of *comp-*: *compactus* (xiv 63, 1 *T*, *c̄p-* *L*, *C<sup>A</sup> n. l.*), *compages* (ix 75, 4 *L*, *comp-* *E*), *comparo* (iii 93, 6 *T*; v 37, 12 *T*, *cōp-* *LE*; iv 23, 3 *E*, *cōp-* *L*; vii 45, 10 *E*, *cōp-* *L*, *comp-* *A*), *compilo* (xi 94, 4 *TL*, *comp-* *E*), *complexus* (xi 78, 1 *L*, *comp-* *TE*), *compono* (ii 7, 3 *A*, *cōp-* *L*, *comp-* *E*; xiv 16, 1 *c̄p-* *L*, *comp-* *E*), *compressus* (iv 66, 11 *T*, *cōp-* *L*, *comp-* *E*; xii 77, 12 *cum p-* *T*, *cōp-* *L*, *comp-* *E*), *computo* (x 38, 10 *L*, *comp-* *E*; xii 8, 4 *L*, *comp-* *E*). We have no evidence of *np* in *compes*, *compitum*. *In-*, the Negative Particle, retains *n* in *inprobus* (the occurrences are too numerous to quote), *impudicus* (xii 32, 16 *LE*; iii 20, 16 *C<sup>A</sup>*, *īp-* *L*; but vi 70, 5 *imp-* *L*), *inpune* (x 70, 11 *L*, *C<sup>A</sup> n. l.*), *impurus* (xi 61, 14 *L*, *imp-* *EA*), *impudenter* (i 49, 41 *E*, *imp-* *L*), but apparently not in *impius* (v 42, 2 *LA*; vi 85, 3 *LC<sup>A</sup>*; iv 11, 3 *LE*; x 5, 2 *L*; iv 30, 8 *C<sup>A</sup>*, *īp-* *L*; v 69, 5 *LE*). The Preposition retains *n* in *inpensis* (Spect. iv, 6 *T*), *inplico* (ix 54, 4 *TLE*; xi 84, 5 *L*, *imp-* *E*; vi 15, 2 *TR*, *imp-* *LE*), *inprecor* (viii 61, 8 *E*, *imp-* *L*; vii 24, 7 *L<sup>2</sup>E*, *imp-* *TL<sup>1</sup>*), *inprimo* (x 42, 5 *T ut vid. LE*). Even *impero* and its cognates occasionally shew *np* (*impero* xi 6, 2 *L*; xii praef. 21 *L*; *inperator* v 49, 9 *E*; *inperiosus* xi 58, 8 *L*; ix 53, 2 *L*); and the same is true of *impleo* (*impleo* x 85, 6 *L*; xi 31, 18 *L*; v 34, 5 *R*). In these two words Martial seems to have admitted both spellings. But the evidence is hardly sufficient to convince us that he admitted *impono* (i 52, 9 *LE*; iv 79, 2 *QE*, *īp-* *L*; iv 40, 10 *QE*, *īp-* *L*) beside *inpono* (Spect. xxii, 6 *H*; iv 31, 6 *T*, *imp-* *LE*; iii 57, 1 *TE*, *īp-* *L*, *imp-* *Q*; x 25, 2 *TE*, *imp-* *L*), and *imputo* (v 80, 2 *LE*; iii 6, 3 *LE*) beside *inputo* (v 20, 13 *E*, *īp-* *LQ*; x 30, 26 *L*, *imp-* *E*; iv 82, 2 *E*, *imp-* *L*; xii 48, 13 *TL*, *imp-* *E*; xii 82, 4 *L*, *imp-* *E*).

See also section I on *Menphis*.

## § 20. *nr*, *mq* and *nq*.

*Corrumpto* and *corripio* are Martial's spellings, but we find *conrodo* (iv 27, 5 *RL*, *corr-* *E*). Negative *in-* appears in *inrequietus* (iv 78, 4 *A<sup>4</sup>LE*); the Preposition is unassimilated in *inrumpi* (x 40, 3 *LE*), assimilated in *irrumo* (*-imo*).

*Numquam, quamquam, tamquam, umquam, -cumque, utrimque* are so thoroughly attested that one cannot doubt them to have been Martial's favoured spellings.

### § 21. *rl, rs.*

*Perlego* is Martial's invariable spelling, also *perlucidus* in the two examples of the word (IX 2, 9 *LE*; XII 38, 3 *LE*), but, of course, *supelleæ*.

See also section VIII on *rursus, sursum*.

### § 22. *xs.*

*Expecto* is normal, but *exspecto* is found occasionally in *C<sup>A</sup>* (XI 21, 5; XI 36, 5; X 87, 7). So with *extruo* and *exstruo* (IV 8, 6; XIV 222, 2). Other instances of this consonant group are *execo* (VI 2, 2 *L*, -xs- *TEA*), *exolvo* (VI 47, 5 *TL*, -xs- *EA*), *exiluit* (Spect. xii, 3 *T*), *expiro* (XIII 102, 1 *TL*, -xs- *E*), *expuit* (VIII 57, 1 *E*, expulit *B<sup>A</sup>*), *exscribere* (II 6, 6 *L*, scribere *C<sup>A</sup>* for esc-, i.e. exc-?), *extinctus* always (e.g. XI 46, 4 *TLE*), *extirpa* (VI 56, 3 *TLE*), *exul* always.

### V. *e* and *ae*.

The well-known confusion of these two sounds in Imperial Latin and the difficulty of deciding whether the hair-line in the ligatured minuscule *e* comes from the hand of the scribe or a corrector makes our manuscript evidence somewhat insecure.

The better spelling *Paelignus* is not found in the MSS. (at I 61, 6 in *L*?), but only *Pelignus*; *caeleps* has *cel-* in the two occurrences of the word (IV 69, 3 *TLE*; XII 63, 10 *E*, *B<sup>A</sup> n. l.*); *caespes* has some evidence of the diphthong (V 34, 9 *E*, -e- *TRL*; I 88, 2 -e- *TLE*); *caenum* has none (VII 33, 1 -e- *TLE*), equally with *caementum* (IX 75, 1 -e- *LEA*), and *taeter* (III 24, 6 -e- *TLE*). But the true form *cena* is excellently attested (the passages are too numerous to quote); so is *ceteri* (V 27, 2 *TRLE*; VII 99, 8 *TLE*; XIV 20, 2 *TLEA*, etc., etc.); *cepe* is slightly better attested than *caepe* (XII 32, 20 -ae- *EA*, -e- *L*; III 77, 5 -e- *LE*). The word *reda* occurs twice (III 47, 5 -e- *LE*; X 13, 1 -e- *TL*, praeda *C<sup>A</sup>*). Although *cinedus* is a very common

spelling, there is abundant evidence of *cinaedus* (e.g. i 41, 13 *E*; ii 43, 13 *LE*; vi 16, 1 *RE*; ix 63, 1 *E*, etc.); but there is lack of evidence in the case of *faenum* (xiv 162 tit. fe- *TA*, fae- *E*, *L n. l.*; iii 47, 14 foe- *L*, fe- *E*). *Saepta* has more testimony (ii 14, 5 -e- *LE*; ii 57, 2 -e- *L*, -ae- *E*; ix 59, 1 -e- *LE*; x 80, 4 -e- *TLE*).

The occurrences of *gleba* are fairly numerous (iii 65, 7 *TLE*; ix 22, 3 *LE*; v 13, 7 *TL*, -ae- *E*; v 37, 11 *T*, -ae- *LEA*); and of *muraena* (ii 37, 5 -ae- *T*, -e- *LE*; x 30, 22 -e- *LE*; xiii 80 tit. -ae- *T*, -e- *LE*; xiii 80, 1 -ae- *T*, -e- *LE*). *Muraena*, the spelling of *A<sup>A</sup>*, is perhaps to be preferred to *murena*, the spelling of *B<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup>*, since Martial affects the exact transliteration of Greek words. In the case of *palaestra*, *palaestrita* it is again *A<sup>A</sup>* which has preserved the diphthong; for *B<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup>* invariably offer *palestra*, *palestrita*. For *scena* the evidence of *A<sup>A</sup>* is wanting; *B<sup>A</sup>* spells with *e*, *C<sup>A</sup>* with *ae*. For *sceptrum* we have not the evidence of *C<sup>A</sup>* (x 62, 10 -e- *TL*). The correct etymological spelling *pedico* is invariable or nearly invariable in the three archetypes, but their testimony is weakened in the case of this word by their adhesion to the wrong spelling of a similar word *paedagogus* (iii 58, 30 pedag- *LE*; viii 44, 2 pedag- *LE*; ix 27, 11 pedag- *LE*; x 62, 10 pedag- *TL*, *C<sup>A</sup> n. l.*; xii 49, 1 pedag- *LE*). Can it be that *pedagogus* was current in Martial's time? For *paelex* (*pelex*) the evidence fluctuates (vi 21, 7 pell- *TL*, pael- *E*; ix 41, 1 pell- *T*, pel- *L*, pael- *E*; x 51, 4 pel- *L*, pael- *E*; xii 96, 3 pel- *L*, pael- *E*; xiv 119, 2 pell- *T*, pel- *L*, pael- *E*). The spelling *paelex* characterizes the *C<sup>A</sup>* archetype, *pelex* the *B<sup>A</sup>*, *peller* the *A<sup>A</sup>*. *Saeta* seems to be the *C<sup>A</sup>* spelling, *seta* the *A<sup>A</sup>*, while *B<sup>A</sup>* wavers (i 55, 9 -ae- *LE*; ii 36, 5 -e- *R*, -ae- *LE*; vi 56, 1 -e- *TL*, -ae- *E*; x 30, 16 -e- *LA*, -ae- *E*; xiii 93, 1 -e- *TL*, -ae- *EA*). For *taeda* (iii 93, 26 tae- *LE*; iv 13, 2 the- *R*, tae- *L*, te- *E*; vi 2, 1 the- *T*, te- *LE*) the *A<sup>A</sup>* spelling was '*theda*'.

There is only one instance of the Verb *paenitet* (iv 48, 3 pae- *T*, pe- *LE*); but *paene* is sufficiently attested (e.g. xiv 197, 2 -ae- *EA*, *L n. l.*; v 14, 4 -ae- *LE*). For *prelum* the use of a contraction for the first syllable obscures the evidence. In *L*, for example, it is so written in every instance of the word.

But the error in  $C^A$  at XI 8, 5, '*pleris*', may be taken as evidence of the correct spelling of this derivative of *premo*. The use of the same contraction is often found with *proelium*, but the spelling with *oe* is often attested (e.g. by *E* in IV 74, 2; V 65, 8; XI 3, 8 etc.).

See also section VIII on *fecundus*, *fenēro*, *feteo*, *maeles*.

## VI. *h*.

The  $B^A$  archetype was an Italian codex written in Lombard minuscules (*Class. Rev.* xv 455), so that its frequent omission of initial *h*- (e.g. *alare*, *alitus*) should be regarded as a mere peculiarity of its 'Italian' Latin and not referred to the ancient text. *Annibal*, for example, is the  $B^A$  spelling invariably, while the other archetypes shew *Hannibal* (XIII 73 1 han- *RE*, an- *L*; IX 43, 9 han- *E*, an- *L*; IV 14, 4 han- *E*, an- *L*). The MSS. ( $A^A$  n. l.) agree in *Amillus* (VII 62), although *Hamillus*, the form supported by the MSS. of Juvenal x 224, is established by the reverse spelling *Sullimah* on Pompeian graffiti (*Rhein. Mus.* 35, 397). *Alica* is the spelling of  $A^A B^A$ , *halica* of  $C^A$  (XIII 6 ali- *TRL*, hali- *E*; XIII 9, 2 ali- *TL*, hali- *E*; II 37, 6 hali- *LE*, ali- *Q*; but XII 81, 3 hali- *LEQ*, where however *allicula* 'a jacket' is spelt in v. 2 hali- *LQ*, halli- *E*). *Heia* (II 64, 9 *TE*, eia *L*), *harundo* (e.g. IX 54, 3 *TE*, ar- *L*; x 15, 1 *TE*, ar- *L*), are clearly Martial's spelling, for the contradictory evidence of  $B^A$  goes for nothing: on the other hand *aruspex* (III 24, 3 *TLE*; III 24, 13 *TLE*). The correct forms *umor*, *umidus* never lack attestation (x 37, 16 hum- *L*, um- *WE*; XII 82, 12 hum- *LA*, um- *E*; v 71, 1 hum- *L*, um- *E*). The word *allex* 'fish-brine' occurs twice (III 77, 5 ha- *LE*; XI 27, 6 a- *TL*, ha- *E*), always with double *l*; *umerus* occurs once and with this spelling (VIII 48, 3 *LE*). We know from Quintilian (I vi, 21) that *have* was the current form in Martial's time and the *h* is abundantly attested by the MSS. of the Epigrams (e.g. I 68, 6 have *T*, habe *E*, ave *L*; III 5, 10 habere *LE*; I 55, 6 have *L*, avem  $C^A$ , etc.).

In  $A^A$  as well as  $B^A$  *h* is occasionally dropt from *haurio* (IV 25, 6 au- *T*, hau- *LE*; VIII 39, 3 hau- *E*, au- *L*; IX 82, 4

hau- *TE*, au- *L*), *exhaustus* (xiii 63, 1 exau- *TL*, exhau- *EA*); also from *holus* (iii 58, 50 ol- *L*, hol- *E*; vii 31, 5 ol- *TL*, hol- *E*; xii 31, 4 hol- *TLE*; xiii 57, 1 ol- *RL*, hol- *EA*). The evidence is hardly sufficient in the case of (*h*)*ei* (ii 1, 12 hei *T*, ei *LE*).

The evidence for *aeneus*(-nus) and *aheneus*(-nus) is fluctuating: *ahenea* xi 75, 1 (*ahena E*, *aenea L*); *aeni* xi 21, 1 (*TLE*); *aeno* x 16, 7 (*TL*, *aegno E*); *aheno* xiv 133, 1 (*B<sup>A</sup> ut vid.*, *aeno A<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup> ut vid.*).

The Interjections appear invariably as *a*, *pro* not '*ah*', '*proh*'. Here are the instances of the second word: i 90, 6 *pro TLE*; ii 46, 8 *pro TLE*; x 68, 6 *pro TL, C<sup>A</sup> n. l.*

See also section vii on *oplomachus*, section viii on *Euhadne*.

## VII. COLLOQUIAL AND PLEBEIAN FORMS.

Martial wrote for fashionable Roman society and would be scrupulously correct in his diction. But in writing about things connected with the Amphitheatre he would use the current forms of words. Thus *oplomachus*, not '*hopl-*', is attested in the single occurrence of the word (viii 74. In line 1 *opl- R*, *hopl- LE*; in line 2 *opl- RLE*). The name of the charioteer is possibly rightly given by *C<sup>A</sup>* as *Purpurio* in xiii 78 (*porphyrio T*, *porphiruo L*). *Pollinctor* (x 97, 3) is the spelling of the *A<sup>A</sup>* archetype; the others shew *-lect-*, the plebeian form. How much weight should be given to '*Passarinus*', the *B<sup>A</sup>* reading apparently in both occurrences of the word (vii 7, 10; xii 36, 12) is not clear. It is the name of a racehorse.

### § 1. *o* for *au*.

*Copo* is the spelling of *\*B<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup>*, *caupo* of *A<sup>A</sup>* (i 56, 2 cau- *R*, co- *LE*; i 26, 9 co- *LE*; ii 48, 1 co- *LE*; ii 51, 3 cau- ex co- *R*, co- *LE*; iii 57, 1 cau- *T*, co- *LE*; iii 58, 24 capo *C<sup>A</sup>*, carbo *B<sup>A</sup>*; iii 59, 2 cau- *T*, co- *LE*; vii 61, 9 cau- *T*, co- *LE*; xiii 11, 2 cau- *T*, co- *LA*). Editors give preference to the colloquial form, but whether rightly or not, I cannot say. There is no *au* variant in the case of *focale* (xiv 142 tit. and line 2 *TLE*).

§ 2. *v* and *b*.

The correct spelling *vison* is retained by B<sup>AC</sup><sup>A</sup>, the later *bison* by A<sup>A</sup> (Spect. xxiii, 4 bis- *H*; I 104, 8 vis- *LE*; IX 57, 10 bis- *T*, vis- *LE*).

§ 3. *l* and *d*.

*Numidica* (gallina) appears as *Numilica* in the lemma of XIII 73 in *R* (-mid- *LE*; cf. III 58, 15 -mid- *LE*, A<sup>4</sup> n. l.).

See also section VIII on *alium* (-eum) 'garlic', *aphronitrum* (apho-), *causea*, *Cydonea*, *fascia*, *iantaculum*, *spongea*, *tinea*, *uruca*, and section V.

## VIII. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WORDS.

*a* Interj. (see sect. VI).

*accedo*, *accido*, *accipio*, *accumbo*, *accubo* (see sect. IV § 6).

*Accius* (XI 90, 6 *LEA*).

*accusso* (-s-?) (see sect. II § 5).

*adfatus* (atf-), *adfecto*, *adfero*, *adficio*, *adfirmo*, *adfligo* (see sect. IV § 7).

*adgestus*, *adgnosco* (see sect. IV § 8).

• *adlatro*, *adludo* (see sect. IV § 9).

*admiror*, *admitto* (see sect. IV § 10).

*adnumero*, *adnuo* (see sect. IV § 11).

*adplico*, *adprobo* (see sect. IV § 12).

*adrideo*, *adrogans* (see sect. IV § 13).

*adsero*, *adsiduus*, *adsurgo*, *adsuesco*, *adscribo*, *adsto*, *adstringo*, *adstruo* (see sect. IV § 14).

*adtendo*, *adtraho*, *adtritrus* (see sect. IV § 15).

*aeneus* (-nus) and *ahen-* (see sect. VI).

*aequus* (not -cus) (see sect. II § 1)\*.

*aestimo* (see sect. II § 2).

*aio* (see sect. II § 8).

*alica* (see sect. VI).

*alicaula*, 'jacket', occurs only once (XII 81, 2 hali- *LQ*, halli- *E*), in a pun with *alica*.

*alium* (-eum), 'garlic', occurs only once (XII 32, 20 ale- *L*, ali- *E*).

*allex* 'fish-brine' (see sect. VI).

*alligo* (see sect. IV § 9).

*anat-* in oblique cases (III 93, 12 *TLE*; XIII 52 tit. *TLE*, *anet-* *R*).

*anguilla* (XII 31, 5 *TLE*).

*anteambulo* (II 18, 5 *LE*; X 74, 3 *LE*; III 7, 2 *L*, -ta- *E*), often written as two words in the MSS.

*anticus* (see sect. II § 1).

*anulus* is Martial's spelling. The instances are too numerous to quote.

*Ansur* or *Anxur*? There is contending evidence: V 1, 6 *anxur TA* (cf. *anxir E*, *anser Q*), *ansur L*; X 51, 8 *anxur E*, *axis* (for *Axur*?) *B<sup>d</sup>*; X 58, 1 *anxur- L*, *C<sup>d</sup> n. l.*

*aphronitrum* (*apho-*) (XIV 58 tit. *apho- TLE*; XIV 58, 2, where the metre requires a long initial syllable, *apro- T*, *apho- LE*).

*apparo*, *appello*, *appeto* (see sect. IV § 12).

*apsens*, *apsim*, *apsolvo* (*abs-*), *apstuli* (*abst-*) (see sect. IV § 3).

*aptus* (see sect. IV § 4).

*Apulia*. The Noun occurs only once (XIV 155, 1 -p- *LEA*, -pp- *T*). *Apulus* is the invariable spelling of the Adjective (II 46, 6 *LE*; VIII 28, 3 *EAP*, -pp- *L*; X 74, 8 *LE*).

*Araps* (see sect. IV § 3).

*arrigo* (see sect. IV § 13).

*ascendo*, *aspenor*, *aspicio* (see sect. IV § 14).

*Atlans* always shews -ans. For the *t* the *B<sup>A</sup>* archetype offers *th*. Here are the instances of the word: VI 77, 7 *atl- A*, *adl- E*, *athl- LP*; IX 3, 5 *atl- E*, *athl- LP*; XIII 2, 2 *atl- TEA*, *athl- L*.

*attenuo*, *atingo*, *attonitus*, *attuli* (*adt- ?*) (see sect. IV § 15).

*autumnus* is Martial's spelling. The instances are too numerous to quote.

*Babylon*, Gen. -nos, Acc. -na (see sect. I).

*barathrum* (see sect. I § 1).

*belua*. The single *l* is attested in every passage (I 104, 10 *LE*; V 65, 13 *LE*; VI 77, 8 *LE*). The evidence of *A<sup>d</sup>* is lacking.

*besalis* (VIII 71, 7 *TLE*) and *besem* (XI 36, 7 *L*, -ss- *E*)  
'bison' (see *vison*).

*bracchium*. This, the older, spelling is attested only by *C*<sup>A</sup> and that not invariably. Here are the instances: II 29, 6 (-cch- *E*, -ch- *L*); II 62, 1 (-ch- *TLE*); III 63, 6 (-cch- *E*, -ch- *L*); VII 32, 9 (-ch- *LE*); XI 84, 3 (-ch- *TL*, -cch- *E*).

*brattea* (VIII 33, 6 *TE*, -ath- *L*, -act- *Q*; IX 61, 4 *E*, -aat- for -att- *L*, -act- *Q*).

*buccella* (VI 75, 3 *E*, -uce- *T*, -ucci- *L*).

*bybliopola*, *bybliotheca* (*bibl*-) (see sect. I § 2).

*caeleps* (*ce*-?) (see sect. IV § 3; sect. v).

*caementum*, *caenum*, *caespes* (see sect. v).

*caesus* (-ss-?) (see sect. II § 5).

*calceus* is regular, but '*calciatus*' is the spelling found in the single occurrence of the word (XII 45, 4 *LE*), although *excalceatus* is equally attested (XII 87, 6 *LE*).

*caligo* (-ll-?). The evidence is very scanty: VIII 51, 3 calligine *EA*, *B*<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*; x 4, 1 gallicantem for callig- *L*, galligantem *Q*, gallicantem for calig- *E*.

*Callaicus* (IV 39, 7 gallanico *B*<sup>A</sup>, callaino *C*<sup>A</sup>; x 16, 3 galliacis *T*, callaicis *L*, gallas *E*, gallaciis *A*; XIV 95, 1 gallaico *E*, *B*<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*).

*cantus* 'felly' (see sect. I § 1).

*carnifex* (see sect. II § 2).

*Catilina* is the only spelling (IX 70, 2 *TLE*; v 69, 4 *LE*).

*causea* (XIV 29 *TLE*).

*caussa* and *causa* (see sect. II § 5).

*cena*, *cepe* (*cae*-), *ceteri* (see sect. v).

*centies* and *-ens* (see sect. II § 6).

*Cerialis* (x 48, 5 -ri- *L*, -pe- for -re- *E*; XI 52, 1 -ri- *L*, -re- *E*). The *C*<sup>A</sup> archetype apparently had -re-, the *B*<sup>A</sup> -ri-.

*chortis* Gen. The *A*<sup>A</sup> archetype offers *co*-, the *B*<sup>A</sup> *cho*-; the *C*<sup>A</sup> wavers between the two (III 58, 12 *chortis E*, *cohortis L*; VII 31, 1 *cortis T*, *chortis L*, *corthis E*; VII 54, 7 *cortis TE*, *chortis L*; IX 54, 11 *cortis T*, *chortis LE*; XI 52, 14 *chortis L*, *cortis E*; XIII 45, 2 *cortis T*, *chortis LEA*).

*Chrestus* (VII 55 *chre- LE*; IX 27 *chre- L* and in line 14 *E*,

cre- in line 1 *E*); *Christina* (II 31, 1 *LE*, *crastina* *R*); *Chrestillus* (XI 90 *E* and in title *L*, *chri-* in line 7 *L*); *Chrestilla* (VIII 43 *TL*, *chri-* in title *L*, *cre-* *E*).

*cinaedus* (see sect. v).

*circuit* (VII 83, 1 *TLE*; VII 93, 2 *TLE*; VIII 59, 14 *TL*, *circumit* *E*); *circuitus* (XI 15, 8 *LE*).

*clepsydra* (see sect. IV § 3).

*cliens*, *clipeus* (see sect. II § 2).

*cludo* is normal, though *claudio* is sometimes found (e.g. II 85, 1 *TLE*; IX 72, 3 *LE*, *A*<sup>4</sup> *n. l.*).

*Cnidius*, *Cnosius* (*Gn-*) (see sect. I § 3).

*coclea* (*-ch-*) (see sect. I § 1).

*cocus*, *cocuntur* (see sect. II § 1).

*collega*, *colligo* (see sect. IV § 17).

*coloephia* (VII 67, 12 *-oe-* *LE*). In XI 52, 13 where editors read (with the *C*<sup>A</sup> archetype) *conchyliā*, the *B*<sup>A</sup> archetype had *coloephia* (with this spelling).

*comissator*, *-tio* (IV 5, 3 *TL*, *-s-* *E*; V 16, 9 *L* *-s-* *TE*; IX 61, 15 *LE*; XII 48, 11 *L*, *-s-* *E*).

*commendo*, *comminiscor*, *committo*, *commodus*, *communis* (see sect. IV § 18).

*comminus* (VI 58, 2 *LEA*; XIV 31, 2 *EA*, *-m-* *TL*).

*compes*, *compitum* (see sect. IV § 19).

*conbibo* (see sect. IV § 16).

*condicio* (*-tio*) (III 33, 2 *-ci-* *RL*, *-ti-* *E*; V 17, 2 *-ti-* *LA*, *-ci-* *E*; IX 67, 8 *-ti-* *LE*; XI 52, 2 *-ci-* *L*, *-ti-* *E*).

*coniunc* and *coniu* are both attested: XIII 34, 1 *-unx* *TLEA*; V 7, 8 *-unx* *E*, *-ux* *L*; VI 64, 3 *-unx* *LA*, *-ux* *TE*; III 5, 7 *-unx* *LE*; II 90, 9 *-unx* *TR*<sup>2</sup>*A*, *-ux* *LE*; VI 47, 3 *-unx* *TLA*<sup>2</sup>, *-ux* *EA*<sup>1</sup>; II 41, 14 *-unx* *E*, *-ux* *L*, *conix* *T*; IV 16, 2 *-unx* *TE*, *-ux* *L*. Probably *coniunc* was Martial's spelling.

*conlapsus*, *conlatus*, *conloco* (see sect. IV § 17).

*compactus*, *compages*, *comparo*, *compilo*, *complexus*, *compono*, *compressus*, *computo* (see sect. IV § 19).

*conrodo* (see sect. IV § 20).

*convicium* (III 46, 9 *RLQ*, *-ti-* *TE*; VII 8, 7 *LE*, *-ti-* *A*).

*copo* (*caupo*) (see sect. VII § 1).

*corripio*, *corrumpe* (see sect. IV § 20).

*cotidianus* (IV 37, 9 *TLE*; x 65, 8 *L*, *C<sup>A</sup> n. l.*; XI 1, 2 *LE*);  
*cotidie* (XII praef. 17 *E*, cotti- *L*).

*cottana* (IV 88, 6 -tt- *LE*; VII 53, 7 -tt- *LA*, *E n. l.*; XIII 28  
 tit. -t- *T*, -ct- *R*, -tt- *LE*; XIII 28, 2 -tt- *TLE*, -ct- *R*).

*coturnix* (x 3, 7 *LE*).

*coturnus* (see sect. I § 1).

*crisare* (XIV 203, 1 *TP*, crus- *C<sup>A</sup>*; x 68, 10 *L*, *C<sup>A</sup> n. l.*).

*crystallum* (see sect. I § 2).

*culix* (III 93, 9 *TL*, -ex *E*; XI 18, 13 *TLE*). In the heading  
 VERGILI CULIX (XIV 185) the variants are: -ex *TRQ*, -ix *EA*.

*cycnus* (see sect. I § 3).

*Cydonea* (x 42, 3 -ca *TLE*; XIII 24 -ea *TRLE*).

*Cypros* (Acc. -on) (see sect. I).

*decies* and -ens (see sect. II § 6).

*decuma* and -ima (see sect. II § 2).

*deram*, *dero*, *desse*, *dest* are the normal forms in the *C<sup>A</sup>*  
 archetype and shew occasional traces of themselves in the  
*B<sup>A</sup>* archetype too (e.g. v 60, 8 erunt for derunt *B<sup>A</sup>*; IV 67, 3  
 desse *L*), while the double *e* is the spelling in the *A<sup>A</sup>* archetype  
 (e.g. x 18, 3 deest *RT*).

*defrutum* (IV 46, 9 *L*, -yt- *E*).

*distichum* (see sect. I § 1).

*ducentiens* (see sect. II § 6).

*ecus* (*equus*, *equos*) (see sect. II § 1).

*ei* (*hei*) (see sect. VI).

*elego* (-ig-?) (see sect. II § 3).

*Ephesos* (see sect. I).

*epistola*. The Græek spelling was probably Martial's. The  
 MSS. waver between *o* and *u* (e.g. v 51, 4 -ol- *L*, -ul- *T*; XIV 11  
 tit. -ol- *T*, -ul- *EA*, *B<sup>A</sup> n. l.*), and often employ an abbreviation.

*eruca* 'colewort' (III 75, 3 aer- *A<sup>A</sup>*, er- *LE*), but *uruca*  
 'caterpillar' (q. v.).

*Euhadne* (IV 75, 5 euchadne *T*, euane *L*, euhadne *E*).

*excusso* (-s-?) 'excuse' (see sect. II § 5).

*execo* (*exs*-?), *exolvo* (*exs*-?), *expecto* (*exsp*-?), *expiro* (*exsp*-?),  
*expno*, *exscribo* (*exc*-?), *extinctus*, *extirpo*, *extruo* (*ext*-?), *exul*  
 (see sect. IV § 22).

*fuenum* (*fe-* ?) (see sect. v).

*fascia* (v 62, 6 -ea *L*, -ia *E*; xi 104, 7 -ea *T*, -ia *LE*; xiv 134 tit. -ia *TL*, -ea *EA*; xiv 134, 1 -ia *TLEA*; xiv 159, 1 -ia *TLEA*), *fasciatus* (xii 57, 12 *LE*).

*fecundus* (ix 101, 9 *LE*; xi 53, 5 *LE*).

*fenero* (i 76, 6 *LE*; i 85, 4 *LE*); *fenerator* (ii 44, 3 *LA*, foe- *E*).

? *feteo* (i 28, 1 *fetere L*, *fatere E*; v 4, 1 *fetere L*, *factere E*).

*focale* (see sect. vii § 1).

*formonsus* (see sect. ii § 6).

*fornix*. In the single occurrence of the Nom. Case, the evidence of *A*<sup>A</sup> is lacking (x 5, 7 -ex *LE*).

*frondossus* (-s- ?) (see sect. ii § 5).

? *genesta* (i 43, 5 *T*, -i- *E*, *B*<sup>A</sup> n. l.).

*genetrix* (see sect. ii § 3).

*gleba* (see sect. v).

*grabatus* (i 92, 5 *T*, -tt- *LE*; iv 53, 5 *A*<sup>A</sup>*L*, -tt- *E*; vi 39, 4 *grabbatt- LE*; xi 56, 5 *L*, -tt- *TE*; xii 32, 11 *L*, -tt- *E*).

(*h*)*alica*, *halo*, *Hannibal*, *harundo*, *have*, *haurio* (see sect. vi).

*Hecabe*, *Hecuba* (see sect. i).

*heia*, *hei* (*ei* ?) (see sect. vi).

*hicine* Pron. (vi 63, 7 *TLE*).

*hirnea* (iii 24, 9 *hircania T*, *hirnea LE*; xii 83, 1 *hymearum L*, *hirnearum E*).

*holus* (see sect. vi).

(*h*)*oplomachus* (see sect. vii).

*hybrida* (viii 22, 2 *hy- LE*). In vi 39, 20 the true reading is *Niobidarum*.

*Hymetos*. The evidence strongly favours the single *t* both in the Noun (vii 88, 8 *TEQ*, -ent- *L*; xiii 104, 1 *TE*, -tt- *L*) and in the Adjective *Hymetius* (xi 42, 3 *TEL*).

*iantaculum* and *ient-* (i 87, 3 *iant- TL*, *iaet-* for *iant-* *C*<sup>A</sup>; xiii 31, 1 *lent-* for *ient-* *TB*<sup>A</sup>*C*<sup>A</sup>; xiv 223, 1 *lent-* for *ient-* *A*<sup>A</sup>*C*<sup>A</sup>, *iant-* *B*<sup>A</sup>); *ianto* (viii 67, 10 -ant- *RB*<sup>A</sup>*C*<sup>A</sup>).

*immemor*, *immineo* (see sect. iv § 18).

*impius*, *impero* and *inp-*, *impleo* and *inp-* (see sect. iv § 19).

*inbellis, inbuo* (see sect. IV § 16).

*inchoo* is the only spelling recognized in the three archetypes (III 79, 1 *LE*; XIII 14, 2 *RLE*; XIII 36, 2 *TLE*).

*infacetus* (v 78, 29 *LE*).

*infimus* (see sect. II § 2).

*inlaesus, inligo, inlotus, inlustro* (see sect. IV § 17).

*inmaturus, inmensus, inmeritus, inmixtus, inmodicus, in-mortalis, inmotus, inmundus* (see sect. IV § 18).

*inpensus, inplico, inpono, inprecor, inprimo, inprobus, in-pudenter, impudicus, inpune, impurus* (see sect. IV § 19).

*inrequietus, inrumpo* (see sect. IV § 20).

*irrumo* (-imo) (see sect. II § 2, IV § 20).

*Iuppiter* is unmistakably Martial's spelling. The instances are too numerous to quote.

*Kalendae* is the normal spelling, e.g. I 99, 6 (k- *TLE*).

*lacrima* (see sect. II § 2).

*lagona* is the normal spelling in the three archetypes (e.g. IV 69, 3 *TLC<sup>A</sup>*; VI 89, 4 *TLC<sup>A</sup>*).

*lanterna* (XIV 61 tit. lant- *TLE*; XIV 61, 1 lat- *T*, lant- *LE*; XIV 62 tit. lat- *T*, lant- *LE*).

*Laomedon* (XI 4, 2 *L*, -um- *E*); *Laomedonteus* (VIII 6, 5 *QE*, Lacm- for Laom- *L*).

*Leandros* (see sect. I).

*Libye*, Gen. -es (see sect. I).

*Ligeia* (x 90 -ea but in line 9 -ia *T*, -ela *L*, *C<sup>A</sup>* n. *l*.; XII 7 -ia *T*, -ela *L*, -ea *E*).

*littera* is the normal spelling in the three archetypes (e.g. XI 18, 25 -tt- *TLE*; XIII 75, 1 -tt- *TLEA*, -t- *R*; XIV 5, 2 -tt- *TRLE*).

*litus* is the normal spelling in the three archetypes (e.g. IV 13, 6 -t- *RLE*).

*lusus* (-ss-?) (see sect. II § 5).

*maeles* (x 37, 18 male *B<sup>A</sup>*, meate *C<sup>A</sup>*).

*magnilocus* (see sect. II § 1).

*maior* (see sect. II § 8).

*malo*, Verb. Double *l* is occasionally found; e.g. III 33, 1 *malo RL*, *mallo EA*; III 49, 2 *malo TL*, *mallo EA'*; III 56, 1 *mallo TE*, *malo LA*.

*manifestus* (see sect. II § 2).

*Maro* and *Maron* (see sect. I).

*Massalitanus* (and *-il-*) (see sect. I).

*mattea* (x 59, 4 *L*, *U<sup>1</sup> n. l.*; XIII 92, 2 *mutea T*, *multea R* (i.e. *muttea A<sup>1</sup> ut vid.*), *maatea* for *mattea L*, *matia E*, *mattia A*).

*maximus* (see sect. II § 2).

*Menphis* (see sect. I).

*meretrix* (see sect. II § 3).

*Messalla* (VIII 3, 5 *-l- TLE*; x 2, 9 *-l- T*, *-ll- LE*).

*milia*, *milies* (*-ens*). Whether the occasional spelling with double *l* is a persistence of the Republican form or the error of an editor or scribe is not clear: e.g. XII 10, 1 *milies L*, *milliens E*; I 99, 17 *milies TE*, *millies L*. (On *miliens* see sect. II § 6.)

*misi* (*-ss- ?*) (see sect. II § 5).

*Mithridates*. The second vowel is always *i*; the *h* is discarded in *A<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>* (v 76, 1 *mithri- E*, *mitri- TR*, *metri- L*; VI 19, 5 *mithri- E*, *mitri- TL*).

*Mitylene* (or *Mytil-* ?) (see sect. I).

*monumentum* and *-nim-* (see sect. II § 2).

*muraena* (*-rena ?*) (see sect. v).

*murra* is clearly Martial's spelling (II 12, 1 *TLE*; x 97, 2 *TLE*; XI 54, 1 *murnam* for *murram T*, *murram L*, *murnham E*).

*neglego* (see sect. II § 3).

*nitella* 'dormouse' (v 37, 8 *-clam LE*).

*nolo*. The spelling *nollo* is of very rare occurrence in the MSS. (e.g. XI 100, 5 *nollo T*, *nolo LE*).

*Numidica* (*-mil-*) (see sect. VII § 3).

*numquam* (see sect. IV § 20).

*nupsi* (see sect. IV § 3).

*obscenus*, *obscurus*, *obseratus*, *obserro*, *obsideo*, *obstrepo* (see sect. IV § 3).

*obticeo* (see sect. IV § 4).

*occasio*, *occido*, *occido*, *occumbo*, *occupo*, *occurro* (see sect. IV § 1).

*offendo, offero* (see sect. IV § 1).

*oplomachus* (see sect. VII).

*oppignero, oppono* (and *obp*-?), *oppressus* (see sect. IV § 2).

*opsto* (*obs*-), *opsonium* (see sect. IV § 3).

*ophthalmicus* (see sect. I § 1).

*opto* (see sect. IV § 4).

*paedagogus* (*ped*-?), *paelex* (*pel*-), *Paelignus* (*Pel*-), *paenitet* (see sect. V).

*palaestra* (*-les*-) (see sect. V).

*Pallas*, Gen. *-dos*, Acc. *-da* (see sect. I).

*Papylus* is well attested (IV 69 *TLC*<sup>A</sup>; IV 48 *TLC*<sup>A</sup>; VII 94 *TC*<sup>A</sup>; VI 36 *TRC*<sup>A</sup>), while *L* shews the form *Pamphilus* in VI 36, VII 78, VII 94 and *C*<sup>A</sup> wavers between *Papylus* and *Paphilus* in VII 78.

*paropsis* (XI 27, 5 *-aps*- *T*, *-obs*- *L*, *-ops*- *E*; XI 31, 18 *-aps*- *T*, *-obs*- *L*, *-ops*- *E*). The spelling of the A<sup>A</sup> archetype is *parapsis*, of the B<sup>A</sup> *parobsis*, of the C<sup>A</sup> *paropsis*.

*paulum, paulisper* (see sect. II § 5).

*pedico* (see sect. V).

*peiero* (VI 12, 2 *peier*- *L*, *perier*- *E*; VII 20, 6 *peler*- for *peier*- *L*, *peier*- *EQ*).

*perlego, perlucidus* (see sect. IV § 21).

*pilleum* is normal (e.g. XIV 132 tit. *-ll*- *TLE*).

? *Pimpleus* (XII 11, 3 *L*, *C*<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*); *Pipleis* (XI 3, 1 *pipeide* *E*, *pieride* *B*<sup>A</sup>).

*plausus* (*-ss*-?) (see sect. II § 5).

*plebs* (see sect. IV § 3).

*pollinator* (*-lector*?) (see sect. VII).

*Pollio* (XII 12 *RTL*, *-l*- *T* in heading, *C*<sup>A</sup> *n. l.*; IV 61, 9 *L*, *-l*- *C*<sup>A</sup>; III 20, 18 *B*<sup>A</sup>*C*<sup>A</sup>); *Pollius* (I 113, 5 *C*<sup>A</sup>, *-l*- *B*<sup>A</sup>); *Polla* (III 42 *TLE*; X 40 *LE*; X 69 *LE*, etc., etc.).

*Porphyrio* (*Purpu*-) (see sect. VII).

*prelum* (see sect. V).

*pro* Interj. (see sect. VI).

*proelium* (see sect. V).

*pthisicus* (see sect. I § 1).

*ptisana* (see *tisana*).

*publicus* (vii 6, 5 -pl- *T*, -bl- *LE*; x 28, 2 -bl- *LE*).

*pulcher* is normal (e.g. xiii 100, 1 -ch- *TRLEA*).

*pustula* 'frosting' of metal (vii 86, 7 pust- *L*, post- *E*: viii 51, 6 punsu- *L*, pustu- *E*).

*pusula* 'blister' (xi 98, 4 pusu- *L*, pusisu- *E*; xiv 167, 1 pusu- *T*, pulsu- *Q*, punsu- *EA*).

*quadringenta*. The misspelling '*quadrig-*' is only once offered by the archetypes (xiv 35, 2 *TLE*): elsewhere *quadring-* (v 23, 7 *LE*; v 25, 1 *LE*; v 38, 3 *LE*: ix 102, 1 *LE*), the testimony of *A*<sup>A</sup> being absent.

*quadripes* (see sect. II § 2).

*quamquam* (see sect. IV § 20).

*quattuor* is Martial's spelling (e.g. xiii 3, 3 -tt- *TLEA*).

*querela* (-*ellu*). The *A*<sup>A</sup> and *C*<sup>A</sup> archetypes use -*ll-*, the *B*<sup>A</sup> archetype -*l-* (e.g. i 53, 10 -*ll-* *TE*, -*l-* *L*; ix 54, 7 -*ll-* *TE*, -*l-* *L*).

*quidquid* (see sect. IV § 6).

*quindecies* (see sect. II § 6).

*quotiens* (see sect. II § 6).

*reda* (see sect. v).

*redimo* (-*em-* ?) (see sect. II § 3).

*relicus* (see sect. II § 1).

*rhonchus* (*ro-*) (i 3, 5 runc- *A*<sup>A</sup> *ut vid.*, ronch- *L*, rhonch- *E*: iii 82, 30 ronch- *LE*; iv 86, 7 ronch- *L*; rhonch- *E*).

*robigo* (xii praef. 15 rob- *E*, rub- *L*; v 28, 7 rob- *TE*, rub- *L*). The wrong spelling *rub-* is apparently a feature of the *B*<sup>A</sup> archetype. So is 'iocundus' for *iucundus*.

*rursus* (vii 6, 7 -rs- *E* and *ex corr.* *L*; vii 58, 6 -rs- *LE*). In iii 20, 12 whether the right reading is *rursus* with *C*<sup>A</sup> or *rufus* (*Rufus*) with *B*<sup>A</sup> is not clear.

*Saepta* (*Se-*), *saeta* (*se-*) (see sect. v).

*Safronius* (iv 71, 1 *TRLE*; xi 103 *T*, -ph- *B*<sup>A</sup>*C*<sup>A</sup>).

*saltem*. The spelling with -*im* is a peculiarity of the *A*<sup>A</sup> archetype. Why editors should print -*em* in some passages of Martial and -*im* in others, I cannot understand. The facts are these. In five passages the evidence of *A*<sup>A</sup> is available: in these *A*<sup>A</sup> offers -*im*, *B*<sup>A</sup>*C*<sup>A</sup> offer -*em*. The remaining passages

are found only in  $B^1C^1$  and accordingly the traditional spelling in these is *-em*, without any variant *-im*.

*Sameramis* is the attested spelling, although the evidence of  $A^1$  is wanting (IX 75, 2 *LE*; VIII 28, 18 *L*, *samar- E*).

*satura* (see sect. II § 2).

*scena* (*scae-*), *sceptrum* (see sect. v).

*schida* (IV 89, 4 *E*, *sci- L*).

*scripsi* (see sect. IV § 3); *scriptus* (see sect. IV § 4).

*scripula* (v 19, 12 *TLE*; x 55, 3 *LE*; iv 88, 3 *E*, *-up- L*).

*secuntur* (see sect. II § 1).

*Septicianus* (XI 107 *LE*), *Septicianum argentum* (*-ti-?*) (IV 88, 3 *-ici- E*, *-eci- L*, *-eti- Qf*; VIII 71, 6 *-ici- LE*, *-iti- TQ*).

*sepulchrum* is the only attested spelling (e.g. IV 59, 5 *-chr- TLEA*).

*servolus* (see sect. II § 1).

*sescenti*, the spelling of  $A^1C^1$ , was Martial's form. The *sexcenti* of  $B^1$  is probably as mistaken as '*sexquipedale*' (VIII 60, 2), '*sexquipedalis*' (VII 14, 10) in *Q*.

*sexagensima* and *-ges-* (see sect. II § 6).

*smaragdus* (see *zmar-*).

*solacium* (II 91, 7 *-c- LE*; XII praef. 6 *-t- L*, *-c- E*).

*spongea* (IV 10, 6 *-ia R<sup>1</sup>L*, *-ea R<sup>2</sup>E*; VI 57, 4 *-ea- TE*, *-ia RL*; VII 53, 4 *-ia L*, *-ea E*; XII 48, 7 *-ea LE*; XIII 47, 2 *-ea TLEA*; XIV 144 *-ea TLEA*, *-ia R*).

*suboles* (VI 3, 2 *sob- LE<sup>1</sup>A*; VI 25, 1 *sob- TL*, *sub- E*; VI 38, 7 *sob- LA*, *sub- E*; VI 39, 7 *sob- L*, *sub- E*).

*subpono* (*supp-?*), *subrideo*, *subripio* (see sect. IV § 2).

*subtilis* (*supt-*), *subtraho* (see sect. IV § 4).

*Subura* is clearly Martial's spelling.

*succedo*, *succinctus*, *succumbo* (*subc-?*), *succurro* (see sect. IV § 1).

*sufficio*, *sufflatus*, *suffultus* (see sect. IV § 1).

*suggero* (see sect. IV § 1).

*Sulla* or *Sylla* (VI 19, 7 *su- TE*, *si- L*, *sy- Q*; IX 43, 10 *sy-EAQ*, *su- (sci?) L*; XI 5, 9 *sy- EQ*, *si- A*, *scy- L*).

*sulphur*. The spelling '*sulpur*' is peculiar to  $C^1$  (e.g. I 12, 2 *-ph- TL*, *-p- E*; VI 43, 2 *-ph- TL*, *-p- E*; VII 93, 1 *-ph- TL*, *-p- E*; XII 48, 10 *-ph- TL*, *-p- E*).

*summitto, summoveo* (see sect. IV § 2).

'*Summoenium*', '*-nianus*'. This spelling is quite unsupported by evidence. The MSS. shew *Summemmium* (I 34, 6 *E*; subm-*L*) and *Summemmianus* (III 82, 2 *E*, -emi- *LQ*) or *Summmianus* (XI 61, 2 *EA*, -emi- *LQ*; XII 32, 22 *EA*, -emmi- *L*, -emini- *Q*).

*supellex* (see sect. IV § 21).

*surrexi* (see sect. IV § 2).

*sursum* (I 96, 11 *L*, *susum E*).

*Surus* and *Syrus* (see sect. I).

*suscenseo* (VII 60, 6 -cc- *L*, -sc- *E*).

*taeda, taeter* (see sect. V).

*tamquam* (see sect. IV § 20).

*Tarentos* (I 69, 2 *LE*; IV 1, 8 *LE*; Abl. *Tarento* X 63, 3 *L*, *C<sup>A</sup> n. L*).

*Tartesiacus* never shews -ss- (VII 28, 3 *tartis iaces L*, *carpes iacis E*; VIII 28, 5 *arte si acus L*, *tarpesiacus E*; IX 61, 1 *tart- L*, *tarp- E*; XI 16, 4 *tarnesiaca L*, *carthesiaca Q*, *tarpesiaco E*). The B<sup>A</sup> archetype had *Tartesiacus*, the C<sup>A</sup> *Tarpesiacus*. The evidence of A<sup>A</sup> is lacking.

*tessera* (-ar- ?) (see sect. I).

*Thalassio*, the invariable spelling in B<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup> (I 35, 6—7 *LE*; III 93, 25 *LE*; XII 95, 5 *LE*), though for *Thalassus* (XII 42, 4 *L*) we find *tal-* in *E*. The evidence of A<sup>A</sup> is lacking for these words.

*thermae* (see sect. I § 1).

*Thyestes* (see sect. I).

*Tiberis* (trisyll.) in IV 64, 24 *sacrumque | lapsae per Tiberim volent carinae (EQ, tybe- L)* and *Tiberinus* (X 85, 1 *LE*, *tyb- T*), *transiberinus* (VI 93, 4 *TE*, *transber- L*; I 41, 3 *LE*; I 108, 2 *E*, -tyb- *L*); but *Thybris* (disyll.) apparently (X 7, 9 *E*, *tlu-* for *thi- L*; X 85, 4 *ty- TE*, *thi- L*).

*tinea* (II 46, 10 -ia *L*, -ea *E*; VI 60, 7 -ia *T*, -ea *LE*; XI 1, 14 -ea *L*, -ia *E*; XIV 37, 2 -ea *TL*, -ia *E*).

*tinguo* (-go) (I 77, 5 -g- *TE*, -gu- *LA*; II 59, 3 -gu- *LE*; III 67, 4 -gu- *LE*; IV 36, 1 -gu- *LE*; VIII 3, 19 -g- *TL*, -gu- *E*; XII 98, 2 -gu- *LE*; XIV 103, 2 -g- *L*, -gu- *E*; XIV 146, 1 *píngue TL*, *tingue EA*).

*tintinabulum* (XIV 163 tit. -ina- *TE*, *L n. l.*).

*tisana* (XII 72, 5 ti- *TLE*).

*totiens* (see sect. II § 6).

*tremebundus* (see sect. II § 3).

*tricensimus* and -*ces*- (see sect. II § 6).

*triciens* (see sect. II § 6).

*tubures* (XIII 42 *TE*, -ber- *LQ*; XIII 43 *TE*, -ber- *LQ*). The *B<sup>A</sup>* spelling is 'tuberes.'

*Tyros* (see sect. I).

*Vergilius* is Martial's spelling.

*vesica* (IV 49, 7 ues- *LE*; VIII 33, 19 ues- *LE*; XIV 62 tit. ues- *TL*, uis- *EA*; XIV 62, 2 ues- *TL*, bes- *EA*).

*vicies* (see sect. II § 6).

*victima* (see sect. II § 2).

*vigesis* (XII 76, 1 *LE*, uicenis *T*).

*vilicus* is excellently attested.

*vison* (see sect. VII § 2).

*vispillo*. All these archetypes make the second letter *i* (I 30, 1 visp- *LE*; I 47, 1—2 visp- *RE*, *B<sup>A</sup> n. l.*; II 61, 3 visp- *L*, bisp- *E*).

*umerus*, *umor* (see sect. VI).

*umquam* (see sect. VI § 20).

*unguo* (-go) (II 77, 2 *TL*, -g- *E*; III 12, 4 -g- *TL*, -gu- *E*).

*volgus*, *volpes*, *volsellae*, *volsus*, *volgus* (*vul-*), *volnus* (*vul-*), *volt* (*vult*), *voltus* (*vul-*) (see sect. II § 1).

*uruca* 'caterpillar' (XI 18, 12 *TE*, er- *LQ*), but *eruca* 'colewort' (q. v.).

*usus* (-ss- ?) (see sect. II § 5).

*utrimque* (see sect. IV § 20).

*Vulcanus*, *vultur* (see sect. II § 1)

*zmaragdos* (IV 28, 4 zm- *LE*; v 11, 1 sm- *L*, zm- *E*). Martial would probably copy the Greek spelling.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ST ANDREWS,  
January 1903.

## FULGENTIANA.

The text of Fulgentius on which the following remarks are based is in the new edition of Helm, Teubner, 1898.

Lib. I. Praef. 10. *Ergo dum huiusmodi paliurea prata incedenti premerem planta et roscidos florulenti uelleris colles spatianti meterem passu.*

*meterem* can hardly be right, as there is no indication of plucking flowers or leaves. Muncker mentions *metirem* as a variant: *meturem* is perhaps more probable. Cul. 174 *Metabat sese circum loca* i.e. *loca circum sese*.

Praef. 16. *Pelleae genti enervis sensus aut satyra luseram aut comedico fasmate delectabam aut tragica pietate mulcebam.*

*fasmate* seems here = illusion, with a half reference to its sense of ghost or spectre in the 'Phasma' comedies of Philemon, Menander, and Theognetus. In *pietate* there seems to be an approach to the sense of *pity*.

Praef. 18. The difficult sentence *Nunc itaque ita litterae... catus extendunt* I would emend thus: *Nunc itaque ita litterae suos actus extenderunt* [quo] *quicquid Helicon uerbialibus horreis enthecatum possederat in ipsis potestatum culminibus hereditario iure transferret*, i.e. *suos actus ita extenderunt, quo*, a very frequent construction of *quo* in Fulgentius. Literature has now extended its proceedings to such a degree as to make Helicon transfer to the roofs of the great all that it had once garnered in its word-repositories as owner.

The words *actus extenderunt quo* seem to have been omitted in their proper place, then were added in the margin, lastly were

shifted to where they now stand. In the process *quo* was lost altogether and the two other words vitiated.

Praef. 19. *redde quod deuerbas sipnotico et quicquid libet Niliacis exurare papiris, feriatis aurium sedibus percipe.*

Perhaps *redde quod* debueras sinopico. *sinopico* = minium or vermilion of Sinope (Cels. v. 6, vi. 6. 19). Pliny combines *rubrica* with *sinopis* H. N. xxxiii. 117, and describes *sinopis* xxxv. 30—32, dividing it into three kinds *rubra et minus rubens atque inter has media*. Cf. Vitruv. vii. 7. 15.

This Sinopic vermilion is to be used for the *index libelli* (§ 20) or lettering-piece of the work promised by Fulgentius, as to the character of which the Muse, with whom he is conversing, is mistaken, believing it to be a narrative or series of narratives drawn from the amatory legends of mythology, whereas it is an ethical explanation, not of these in particular, but of the Greek myths in general.

*nec deerit historiae quilibet effectus cuius te uisceribus interst[r]ingi poposceris.*

*cuius* refers to *historiae*, for *quilibet* therefore read *cuiilibet*: 'no legend with whose inner meaning you would fain make yourself familiar will lose its effect.' Cf. the close parallel in the *Virgiliana Continentia* Praef. (p. 83 Helm) *bucolicam georgicamque omisimus, in quibus tam mysticae interstinctae sunt rationes, quo nullius paene artis in isdem libris interna Virgilius praeterierit viscera.*

Praef. 20. *nec referam uirginali figmento †non acirinam lusam uiraginem, dum quaereret Iuppiter quod magis esse uellet quam fuerat.*

This is the reading of  $\alpha$ , Helm's first class of MSS;  $\beta$  has *aricinam*. It is obvious that the former is right against the latter. Read *Nonacrinam* and explain, as Muncker, who however did not make out the word, of the *Nonacrian* virgin, Callisto, whom Juppiter seduced by assuming the shape of Diana (*uirginali figmento*). The story is told by Ovid, M. II. 405 sqq. from whom the words *uir(a)go Nonacrina* are borrowed: 409 *dum redit itque frequens, in uirgine Nonacrina Haesit (Iuppiter).*

Praef. 21. *Si his quibus ignorare aliquid contingit, ne ipsut*

*quidem nescire suum nescire contingerit, quanto satius erat eis etiam non nasci contingere quam †nasci inefficaciter uenire.*

The obelized words are transparently corrupt: but one of Helm's MSS (*E* = Regin. 1567) suggests a probable line of emendation. *E* has *quam nesciendo inefficaciter uiuere*. I would suggest therefore *quam nesciis inefficaciter uiuere*.

Praef. 22. *quo ludibundo pede metrica uerborum commoda sarciamus.*

Read *incommoda*.

Praef. 26. *Visus itaque luminis tam elata contemplatione caelitus erigebatur intuitus, quo p(a)ene foribus superna intuens pollicem inhisisset.*

Helm would omit *intuitus*. I should prefer to omit *uisus* as originally an explanation of *intuitus*. The repetition of the verb *intuens* after the substantive *intuitus* is in favour of my view: such geminations occur elsewhere in this author. III. 6 *curiositatem, suae salutis nouercam, arripuit, et facillimam credulitatem...postposito cautelaе suffragio arripit.*

Praef. 27. *Neque enim illos de his expectus effectus quos aut poema ornat aut deflet tragoedia.*

*effectus ornare* is perhaps from Petronius 5 *Artis seuerae si quis ornat (codd. amat) effectus*.

ib. *aricinis atque arcaicis sensibus*. A gloss explains *aricinis* as = *siluaticis et stultis*. The author of the *Sermones Antiqui*, probably Fulgentius himself, explains the word p. 124 Helm *Aueruncassit deus tam aricinas hominum mentes* as 'testes uel argilleas.' This suggests that *aricinas* represents an original *arriginas*, itself a metathesis of *argillinas*. The word certainly underwent strange mutations: Götze Thes. Gloss. Emend. p. 101 *arzila sicca gipsa*, again p. 93 *arcilla* *πηλός*.

Praef. 29. The sentence *quem, uelut inormis substantiae successorem, ineffabili ultra quam paternitas erigebat affectu erga filium deditum †is qui dum aduersis fortunae incursibus raperetur* has already been virtually emended by Plasberg's *usque dum*, but an infin. *fuisse* must have fallen out before these words, i.e. *deditum [fuisse] usque dum...raperetur*.

Praef. 32. *deum doloris quem prima compunctio humani finxit generis.*

The words (which however are found with no variation in Lact. Plac. on Stat. Theb. III. 661) look like a citation from poetry. I suggest therefore

deum doloris prima quem conpunctio  
humani fecit generis.

Similarly the 8th fable of B. I. ends with a pentameter *Mortis condicio quae sine lege uenit.*

[I see from Jahnke's new edition of Lact. Plac. that Dübner suggested the same correction.]

I. 12. *rubeus dicitur quod a matutino †pro se limine rubicundus exurgat.*

Perhaps *proferens* (*prodens*?) *se limine*; or possibly *Proserpinae*.

I. 15. *duo labia uelut cimbala uerborum commoda modulantia.*

Perhaps *commodo*.

ib. *gutturis fistula quae tereti meatum spiritalem praebebat excursu.*

MS Digb. 61 *meatu sp. pr. excursum*. This seems better, the wind-pipe would naturally be called *teres meatus*, and as discharging the breath freely and quickly *spiritalem praebebat excursum*.

ib. *tertia Melpomene quasi melenpieomene, id est meletationem faciens permanere.*

Helm takes *melen* to represent *μελέτην*. It may however = *μέλειν* giving permanence to the premeditation. In any case *meletationem* should not be changed to *meditationem*, though this is no doubt the word on which it is modelled, or rather to which a new word containing the Greek stem is assimilated.

I. 18. In explaining the myth of Argus, who was surrounded with a *populositas luminum*, Fulgentius writes

*dum oculorum immensam unius corporis segetem ubique uiua circumspectione florentem singularis uulneris recursu falcifero messuisset curuamine.*

i.e. Mercury killed Argus by cutting away all his eyes with a single recurring stroke of his curved falchion. *Rekursu* because though the wound was a single one it mowed away

successively each one of the eyes: *recussu* is not required, and would be less appropriate.

I. 21. *Unde et uolare dicitur (Pegasus), quia fama est uolucris. Unde et Tiberianus: 'Pegasus hinnientem transuolaturus aethram.'*

The verse of Tiberianus is quoted also by Augustine de Mus. III. init. where it forms the last of a system of 11 verses, all constructed alike as regards the sequence of syllables (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —), though not all incided similarly. Augustine says expressly that the first four syllables form a choriambus (— ∪ ∪ —). How is it then that, in the above verse quoted by Augustine and Fulgentius, we have — ∪ — —, not — ∪ ∪ —? No such deviation is found in any of the other ten. It seems probable that Tiberianus used a form of the fut. part. belonging to a different conjugation, several examples of which are collected by Neue-Wagener Formenlehre III. pp. 585 sqq. *ereubaturus* and *ereubiturus*, *subcubiturus* (Manil. l. 464), *concubiturus*, *consequiturus* and *consecuturus*, *explicaturus* and *expliciturus*, *praestaturus* and *praestiturus*. Or *transuolaturus* may be classed with the similar instances of shortened *a*, *negaturus* A. L. 279. 13 Riese, *rogaturus* ib. 20, and *ī*, *feritura* Claud. R. P. III. 359 Maxim. v. 97 (Neue-Wagener p. 591). The Bodl. Douce MS of August. de Musica, assigned by Mr Falconer Madan to cent. XII, gives the v. thus: *Pegasus innitentem peruolaturus æthram*. This *innitentem* is a mere error for (*h*)*innientem*; cf. Heywood's 'Cannon quaking the bellowing air,' a quotation which I borrow from a recent fasciculus of the New English Dictionary. As the cannon make the air bellow, so the snorting of Pegasus makes the air neigh.

II. I (p. 38 Helm). *sicut enim pavus stellatum caudæ curruamine concavans antrum faciem ornet posterioraque turpiter nudet.*

I can see no tolerable meaning for *antrum*, nor does the v. l. *anterius* (of two of Helm's MSS and Digb. 61) greatly assist us. Possibly it is a mistake for *arcum*, as Fulgentius immediately afterwards adds *sicut ille ornatus uarios pingens arcuato curruamine momentaliter refugit*. The peacock's tail, raised in a circle of brilliant hues, might naturally be compared

to a rainbow. Avian. Fab. xv. 7, 8 *Et simul erectae circumdans agmina caudae, Sparserat arcatum sursus in astra iubar.*

*astrum* in conjunction with *stellatum* would perhaps be too much of a tautology.

II. 5. *vitalis suci commerciales transennas.*

'The network of communication for the vital juice.' A rare use of *transenna*.

ib. fin. *Iuppiter uero occultis uaporibus conceptionalem* (-le Digb. 61) *†factum ei futuri germinis subministrat.*

If *factum* is right (not *fotum* or *foetum*), a passage in the *Sermones Antiqui* of Fulgentius (p. 123 Helm) may help to explain it: *ualgia uero sunt labellorum obtortiones in subinatione facti* (supinatione pacti Bod. Auct. T. 2. 18 of cent. x.) where *facti* seems = coitus. That it is an error for *factae* seems to me highly improbable.

II. 6. *melius in re oculatus arbiter praesumpsisset.*

*in re* seems to mean, with the thing before him, in presence of the actual thing to be selected.

ib. *Cui uoltur iecur intimum pererrat  
Et querit pectus intimasque fibras  
Non est quem tepidi uocant poetae  
Sed cordis liuor atque luctus.*

In the second of these vv. I suggest *Et pectus ruit* or *Pectusque eruit*. In the fourth *mala* is generally supposed to have fallen out after *cordis*, but it may represent *discordia*. For *tepidi* perhaps *stolidi*, of which *inepti* was a gloss, later corrupted into *tepidi*.

ib. *nam et Aristoxenus in †lindosecemiarum* (*lindo secemnarum* Digb. 61) *libro quem scripsit similia profert.*

Zink's emendation *II<sup>ndo</sup> sententiarum* is very plausible, but the variants *liuido* and *setemiarum* forbid certainty. Possibly *in secundo scenicarum* or *Cyzicenarum*. In II. 10 *Cyzicenus* is spelt *tizecenus* in Digb. 61.

II. 7. *secundam Medeam quasi auditum hoc est †medenideam quod nos Latine nullam uisionem dicimus.*

One MS has *me medenidean*. I think this points to *medenidean* = μηδεμί(αν) ιδέαυ.

ib. *tertia Circe tactui similis, id est quasi si diceret +ciroucre grece quod nos latine manuum indicium dicimus.*

Helm prints his emendation *cironcrine*, but the recurrence of *cironere* in exactly the same form in the following chapter (II. 9) leaves me in little doubt that some other explanation is needed. It is possible that *χειρωνκρι* was sounded and written in Latin as *cironere*: in that case *κρι* would stand as a sufficient representative of the fuller stem.

II. 8 fin. *denique et Sirenes dictae sunt; +sirene enim Grece trahere dicitur.*

So Helm with most MSS; Harl. 2685 however has *syren*. Surely this is right = *σύρειν*: the *e* seems to come from the following *enim*.

II. 13. *huius generis auem (the swan) ita conuiciis esse plenam, ut ipsa aue clamante reliquae aues taceant.*

*ipsa aue clamante* = si ipsa clamet, in opposition to *reliquae*.

ib. *sicut lucifer et antifer.*

Götz Thes. Gloss. Emend. p. 76 Antifer *Ἐσπερος*.

II. 15.

*Nec bibit inter aquas nec poma pendentia carpit  
Tantalus infelix quem sua uota premunt.*

These lines with the two following are also found in Petronius Sat. 82, but with considerable differences, *Non* for *Nec*, *poma aut* for *nec poma*. The lines, which Fulgentius also ascribes to Petronius, are nearer to that author's ordinary rhythm, as given (corruptly) by Fulgentius than as reported in the Satirae, and *pendentia* has been variously corrected into *patentia*, *natantia*, *fugacia* (Bücheler). It may have been *petentia* 'trying to find him' or *tremantia* 'dangling loosely.' The rhythm *poma aut pendentia* is comparatively unpetronian.

III. 1. *Pritos Panfilia lingua sordidus dicitur, sicut esiodus in bucolico carmine scripsit dicens pepigros sta fulue lactis mene semorum, id est sordidus uuarum bene calcatarum sanguineo rore.*

So Digb. 61, agreeing closely with Bern. 427, *pepigros ista fulueo lactis mene semora*. The Greek words, of which many explanations have been given (see Ritschl Sched. Crit. p. 35,

Markscheffel Hesiodi Fragm. p. 365, Kinkel Epic. Graec. Fragm. p. 158, Kaibel Hermes xv. 449), are tolerably clear as to some inflexion of σταφυλή, λακτίζειν, αἰμόροος. The conjectural restoration which comes nearest to the transliterated Greek letters is Spengel's βεβριθῶς σταφυλῆσιν ἐν λακτιζομένῃσι Αἰμόροισι, but as Fulgentius' Latin translation has *rore*, there would seem to have been a missing word after αἰμόροισι or whatever was the inflexion (αἰμορόοισι, αἰμορόοιο), probably δρόσοις; for the word ΔΡΩΦΟC with which the transliterated words end in a Gotha MS of Fulgentius cited by Jacobs (Göttling's Hesiod p. 208) points to this, as Jacobs saw: cf. Kaibel p. 450. The Gotha MS exhibits with tolerable clearness

προῖτος σταφυλάων καλῶς λακτιστῶν αἱμάτιος δρόσος

which can hardly be elicited from *any* of the other known MSS of Fulg. and cannot be what he wrote. If Spengel is right in σταφυλῆσιν ἐν λακτιζομένῃσι, the remainder might be αἰμορόοισι δρόσοις, a double dative after the perf. participle latent in *perigros*: but this participle cannot have been βεβριθῶς, which is at variance with the double *p*, as well as with the assigned meaning *sordidus*: there must have been a participle approaching *προῖτος* in sound, and with the sense of gushing out or foul.

If we could suppose Fulgentius to be quoting an *elegiac* poem, which he wrongly ascribed to Hesiod, the last words of the two MSS (Digb. 61, Bern. 427) might seem to have been

εὖ λακτιζομένης αἰμορόοι[σι δρόσοις]

possibly preceded by πεπιδυκῶς σταφυλάων (or σταφυλῆσι).

[I now see from Aloisius Rzach's new edition of Hesiod (Teubner, 1902, p. 417) that Iungmann Conj. Fulgent. p. 37 has conjectured πεπρηθῶς for *perigros*, and that Rzach prints the fragm. thus: προῖτος (or βεβριθῶς) σταφυλάων Εὖ λακτιζομένων αἰμορράντοισι [δρόσοισιν], accepting Peppmüller's αἰμορράντοισιν in preference to his own suggestion αἰμορραγέεσσιν.]

III. 4 (in the fable of Hero and Leander). *Amor...dum ad illud solum notat quod diligit, numquam uidet quod expedit.*

*notat* is, I believe, a mere misspelling of *natat*, which several

MSS give, as conversely in Man. v. 445, *Delphinumque suo per inane notantia motus*, MSS give *natantia*. And so Fulg. immediately afterwards *Sed natat nocte*, and again *Denique nudus natat*.

III. 5 (in the fable of Attis). *numquam deterius suis diis reponeret* (sc. *Graecia*, Greece would never have retaliated) *quam ut eorum matrem ueternosam anum non solum puerilem amatum* (al. *puerum amatum*) *quantum etiam fingerent et zelotypam*.

Perhaps *pueri* (or *puerilem*) *amantem*. The latter in the deeply vitiated Latin of Fulgentius might well be i.q. *pueri amantem*.

ib. *μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους id est cum deos alios*.

I cannot but hesitate over this, though Helm prints it as Fulgentian. Can *cum* be a palaeographical error for *inter*?

In the passage from Epicharmus quoted shortly after, which Helm gives as *κυνθοειδῆς στεφηφόρος καὶ ῥανθεὶς προζέβηκε Χρύσαλος*, the only doubtful word is *ῥανθεὶς*. The Latin translation of the Greek words as given by Fulgentius is *florigere coronatus atque ebrius processit Chrysalus*, the letters which correspond to *et ebrius* are *cedrancte se* or *cedrantese*. This would be nearer to *καὶ διανθεὶς* than to *καὶ ῥανθεὶς*. I had also thought of *θωρηχθεὶς*, which might find some support in the variant *codrant tese* of Helm's MS T.

III. 9. *in eodem loco calamus natus est, unde sibi pastor tibiam faciens—quae cum percutiebatur dicebat 'Mida rer asinus aures habet' nihilominus quod ex terra conceperat [calamus canebat]. Unde et Petronius Arbiter ait: Sic com-missa uerens anidus reserare minister Fodit humum regisque latentes prodidit aures. Concepit nam terra sonum, calamique loquentes Inuenere Midam qualem conceperat index.*

The four hexameters here I have found also in MS Harl. 6514, with *Si* for *Sic*, *Middam quale* for *Midam qualem*; no doubt they were taken from Fulgentius, standing as they do by themselves, without the five lines which precede them in the fragment as edited by Scaliger *Nam citius flammās mortales ore tenebunt* etc. (Bücheler *Petron.* xxviii\*, Riese A.L. 476, Bährens P.L.M. iv. 86) and without the variant *narrauerat* in the last v.

The two words [*calamus canebat*] are found only in Helm's *E* (Reginensis 1567) and seem to be an interpolation caused by the peculiar use of *nihilo minus* = *nimirum* which marks Fulgentius and recurs again and again. They may safely be omitted. A doubt still attaches to *quod ex terra conceperat*: if genuine, the nominative to *conceperat* must be *tibia*, 'in effect, what it (the reed-pipe) had drawn from the earth (into which the secret had been whispered).' I would not deny this to be possible; yet suspect that Fulg. is here repeating the words of Petronius *Concepit nam terra sonum*, and that he wrote *quod ex [eo] terra conceperat*. The reed-pipe, each time it was played by the shepherd, said 'Midas has asses' ears,' meaning of course the message which the earth had caught from the servant's whisper.

ib. (p. 76 Helm). *Sed his duobus certantibus Mida rex residet*.

Neither Muncker nor Staveren grasped the meaning of *residet*, the former emending it to *praesidet*, the latter to *desidet*. It is obviously the converse of *certantibus*; while Marsyas and Apollo are actively contending, Midas sits still *without exerting himself* and merely acting as arbiter.

III. 10. *Orpheus dicitur oreafone id est optima uox*.

. *Orea* seems = *ὥπαλα*. Of this not *optima* but *opima* would be a tolerably close translation, 'a rich voice.'

I add a few words about the MSS of the *Sermones Antiqui* ascribed to Fulgentius which I have examined in the Bodleian. Wessner in his description of the MSS of this often copied work (Commentat. Ienens. vi. 2, p. 65 sqq.) mentions only one Bodleian codex, Junius 83, and this of little value and much interpolated. There are at least *three* others; Auct. T. 2. 18 (20627 in Madan's Catalogue) of cent. x.; Bodl. 186, fol. 84, of cent. xii. (Madan); Bodl. 678, fol. ult. The last of these only contains excerpts, and is of no importance; Bodl. 186 contains both additions and omissions which are not in the MSS followed by Helm; it has occasional variants which are of interest, some of which I will mention below; Auct. T. 2. 18 is an excellent codex, ranking with the best of Wessner's and Helm's. I call this *O*; Bodl. 186 = *O*<sup>2</sup>.

8 quid eam iam iam *O*<sup>2</sup>      23 Pergo capulare cadauer *O*<sup>2</sup>  
 24 cellarios *O*<sup>2</sup>      27 ubi cum in nasciterna *O*<sup>2</sup>      29 pro-  
 sternium *O*<sup>2</sup>      33 prestantur *O*<sup>2</sup>      gavius fausus satirius  
*O*<sup>2</sup>      35 fronte *O*<sup>2</sup>      37 desidio *twice O*<sup>2</sup>      38 Quid sit  
 flocci *O*<sup>2</sup>      39 calimachus intesias *O*<sup>2</sup>      41 callimorphus  
 inpisseis *O*<sup>2</sup>      42 missorium *O*<sup>2</sup>      44 quod blaudum dici-  
 mus *O*      46 ualge uero *O*<sup>2</sup>      , in supinatione *OO*<sup>2</sup>      pactis *O*<sup>2</sup>  
 pacti *O*      49 butrianes *O*<sup>2</sup>      51 sichire *O*<sup>2</sup>      scire *O*  
 auerruncarssit dira aricinas *O*<sup>2</sup> [*perhaps* auerruncasint di tam ar.]  
 52 Contum uernalinea lucte *O*<sup>2</sup>      53 hunc in culleo insui *O*<sup>2</sup>  
 54 taçitur *O*<sup>2</sup>      57 ticti<sup>s</sup> *O* titeis *O*<sup>2</sup>      auro *O*<sup>2</sup>      58 rabirius  
 in sytrei *O*<sup>2</sup>      sairius in satyra *O*      abstemium *O*<sup>2</sup>      59 tidei  
 iussione *OO*<sup>2</sup>      amite nodolo tenebantur *O* amicitiae nudula  
 tenebatur *O*<sup>2</sup>      61 aumatium—Naumatium—aumatium *O*<sup>2</sup>  
 manet conieci *O*<sup>2</sup>      62 tua uerba delenifice ueniant *O*<sup>2</sup>.

I must not omit to mention that M. Leopold de Lisle (Journal des Savants for 1899, p. 126) has identified the contents of two folia of a IXth century codex attached to a MS (no. 288 in Molinier's Catalogue) in the library of Valenciennes, with portions of Fulgentius' Mythologiae, Sermones Antiqui, and Virgiliana Continentia. The largest fragment is from the first of these, Myth. II. 6 *animata uegetare* to II. 16 *abscisa ligna*. It contains many of the Greek words and passages which are so perplexing and still so unsettled in the treatise.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## ARISTOTLE'S CONCEPTION OF CHEMICAL COMBINATION<sup>1</sup>.

In the following paper I propose to give some account of Aristotle's conception of *κράσις* or *μίξις*. The subject is a difficult one, and I am far from confident that my exposition is correct. Hence the fact that there is nothing original in my paper gives me a certain consolation. I have drawn freely from various works of Zabarella, and from Alexander's "*περὶ κράσεως καὶ ἀνξήσεως*." Zabarella's writings are not very accessible, and their value does not seem to be generally recognized by Aristotelian scholars. Chiefly for these reasons I have thought it worth while to publish the results of my investigation.

I am specially indebted to my friend, Mr J. A. Smith, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, for his generous help. So much of this paper originated in suggestions from him or in discussions with him, that I can no longer tell what in it is my own. I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging my debt: but I accept full responsibility for any errors which the paper may contain.

§ 1. The bulk of my paper will treat of *μίξις* in the strict sense of the word: and *μίξις* proper is (as we shall see) the chemical combination of the four Elements to form the *ὁμοιομερῆ*. But Aristotle frequently illustrates his conception of *μίξις* by examples, in which Compounds combine with an Element or with other Compounds<sup>2</sup>. And his terminology rests to some extent upon this looser conception. I shall therefore begin by saying a few words as to that terminology.

<sup>1</sup> This paper in a slightly modified form was read before the Oxford Philological Society in January, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Wine and Water, Wine and Honey.

Aristotle recognizes the distinction between *mechanical mixture* and *chemical combination*. The proper term for the first is *σύνθεσις*, though sometimes it is popularly called *μίξις*<sup>1</sup>. The proper term for *chemical combination in general* is *μίξις*: for *chemical combination of liquids* the strict term is *κρᾶσις*. *κρᾶσις* is therefore a species of *μίξις*<sup>2</sup>. As, however, liquids combine more readily than other bodies<sup>3</sup>, Aristotle generally takes *κρᾶσις* as typical of chemical combination. In fact, he sometimes appears to use *μίξις* and *κρᾶσις*, τὸ μίχθαι and τὸ κραθέν, as synonymous terms<sup>4</sup>.

Alexander indeed maintains that liquids *alone* admit of chemical combination. When dry things seem to blend, they do so (he urges) simply in virtue of the moisture that is in them<sup>5</sup>. And he interprets Aristotle's statement, that *κρᾶσις* is a species of *μίξις*, in a way which seems erroneous. According to him, Aristotle included under the head of *μίξις* (a) *σύνθεσις* of unlike with unlike: e.g. mechanical admixture of grains of wheat and grains of barley: (b) *κρᾶσις*, which takes place only between liquids, and is chemical combination. And we must recognize (c) *σύνθεσις* of like to like (e.g. of grains of wheat), which is not *μίξις* at all<sup>6</sup>.

Alexander seems to have been misled by the passage in the *de gen. et corr.*, to which I have already referred. Aristotle there admits that in popular usage "barley and wheat" are said "*μεμῖχθαι*": but he expressly denies that *μίξις* proper can be identified with a *σύνθεσις* of this kind. Moreover, Aristotle never says that liquids *alone* combine chemically; but only that they combine most easily of all bodies. And

<sup>1</sup> Thus, barley and wheat are "said to be mixed" (*μεμῖχθαι*), *de gen. et corr.*, 328 a 2. τὸ σύνθετον covers chemical compounds as well as mechanical mixtures: see Bonitz, *Ind. s. v.*, and cf. e.g. *de gen. et corr.*, 334 β 35, 335 a 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Top.*, 122 β 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The reason is that in liquids the minute particles of the constituents are brought most easily into contact, which facilitates their reciprocal Action

and Passion. Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, 328 a 33 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, 328 a 8—12.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander, *περὶ κρᾶσεως καὶ αἰσθήσεως*, ed. Bruns, p. 230, l. 34. γίνεται δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη μίξις, ἣν κρᾶσιν καλοῦμεν, ἐν τοῖς ὑγροῖς τῶν σωμάτων. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐν τοῖς ξηροῖς γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσα κρᾶσις οὐ γίνεται χωρὶς ὑγρότητος, κ.τ.λ.—κρᾶσις in Alexander means chemical combination: see below.

<sup>6</sup> *Alex.*, l. c., p. 228, ll. 25 ff.

this implies that bodies, which are *not* liquid, do combine—though not so readily<sup>1</sup>.

I conclude, therefore, that in *strict Aristotelian terminology* we must recognize (1) *σύνθεσις* as meaning mechanical mixture, and (2) *μίξις* as meaning chemical combination. And we must regard (3) *κρᾶσις* as the name for the most common and conspicuous type of *μίξις*, viz. the chemical combination of liquids<sup>2</sup>.

In what follows I shall use the terms *κρᾶσις* and *μίξις* indifferently as meaning chemical combination.

§ 2. If two or more bodies are put together without alteration, this is a *σύνθεσις*, and the resultant is a mechanical mixture. Suppose that we first chop up the component bodies into particles too small for the normal eyesight to discriminate them, and then shuffle them together:—we should still have a mere mechanical mixture, although *relatively to our vision* the result would seem to be a chemical compound. It would not really be a *μιχθέν*: for the component particles still retain their distinctive natures. They form an aggregate, not a genuine unity. If we symbolize the components as *ABCD*, the re-

<sup>1</sup> The concluding words of the passage in question (*de gen. et corr.*, 328 β 11 ff.) clearly contemplate the chemical combination of metals. Of course, in the strict sense of *μίξις* neither liquids nor solids combine *as such*, as we shall presently see. But the distinction between *κρᾶσις* and *μίξις*, as drawn in the *Topics* and elsewhere, rests upon the looser conception of chemical combination according to which Compounds are said to “combine” with Compounds. And from this point of view, the combination of metals with one another would be a “*ξηρῶν μίξις*,” as contrasted with (e.g.) the combination of wine and honey which is “*κρᾶσις*.”

<sup>2</sup> The only passage, so far as I know, in which *κρᾶσις* and *σύνθεσις* are confused, is *Met. H.* 1042 β 16. The MSS. there read *φαίνονται δὲ πολλὰ*

*διαφορὰ οὖσαι, οἷον τὰ μὲν συνθέσει λέγεται τῆς ὕλης, ὥσπερ ὅσα κρᾶσει καθάπερ μελίκρατον, κ.τ.λ.* (The only variation is in A<sup>b</sup>, which omits *ὥσπερ*). But I cannot help thinking that we ought to read...*οἷον τὰ μὲν συνθέσει λέγεται τῆς ὕλης, <τὰ δὲ μίξει>, ὥσπερ ὅσα κρᾶσει κ.τ.λ.* This conjecture is supported by 1042 β 28 ff., where we have *ἐνίων δὲ τὸ εἶναι καὶ πᾶσι τοῦτοις ὀρισθήσεται, τῷ τὰ μὲν μεμῖχθαι, τὰ δὲ κεκρᾶσθαι, κ.τ.λ.* For, unless we insert *τὰ δὲ μίξει* at 1042 β 16, *μίξις* would be mentioned as a Constitutive Differentia for the first time at l. 29: but Aristotle's words clearly imply that *μίξις* was one of those Modes of Coherence of Matter (or Constitutive Differentiae), which he had already mentioned. (Cf. *πᾶσι τοῦτοις ὀρισθῆσεται*, and the whole logic of the passage).

sultant is  $A + B + C + D$ . If we divide it far enough, we shall reach parts which are  $A$  or  $B$  or  $C$  or  $D$ , and not  $(A + B + C + D)$ : i.e. the smallest parts of the whole are different in character from the whole.

But now suppose that  $A, B, C$  and  $D$ , by acting and reacting on one another, produce an alteration in one another's qualities. Suppose further that this reciprocal alteration continues until a resultant,  $x$ , emerges, whose qualities are modifications of the qualities of the components, and yet are different from the qualities of any (and of all) of them. Suppose further that every part of  $x$ , however far you subdivide it, retains the character of the whole. And suppose finally that (by appropriate processes of resolution) you can recover (or re-create) from  $x$  components the same in character as the original  $A, B, C$  and  $D$ . If these conditions are fulfilled,  $x$  is a " $\mu\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ " or " $\kappa\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ," emerging from the " $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma$ " or " $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ " of the " $\mu\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}$ "  $A, B, C$  and  $D$ .

The distinguishing characteristic of  $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma$ , as contrasted with  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , is that its resultant is  $\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>. Further, a  $\mu\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  is such that (1) its components have really merged into a unity, instead of forming a mere aggregate by juxtaposition: and that (2) the components, although contained in the resultant, are contained there in an altered form<sup>2</sup>.

The  $\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$ , of which Aristotle speaks, are, one and all, chemical compounds of the same four elementary components, viz. Fire, Earth, Air and Water. Indeed, strictly speaking, it is only the four Elements which can combine chemically: and in the sublunary sphere all chemical compounds involve all four Elements, or are "Quaternary Compounds<sup>3</sup>." Aristotle,

<sup>1</sup> *de gen. et corr.*, 328 a 10,  $\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta'$ ,  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\rho \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota} \mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\alpha\iota \tau\iota$ ,  $\tau\acute{o} \mu\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \tau\acute{o}\upsilon \upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\acute{o} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \upsilon\delta\omega\rho$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{o}\upsilon \kappa\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 328 b 22,  $\eta \delta\epsilon \mu\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \mu\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\omega\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\omega\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . Unless the components were preserved in some sense in the  $\mu\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , we should have simply  $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  of the components and  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  of the  $\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ . Thus, e.g., if fire

burns wood, this is not a  $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma$ : it is a  $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  of the wood, and a  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  of the fire (*de gen. et corr.*, 327 b 10 ff.). In a sense,  $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma$  does involve  $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  of the components and  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  of the  $\mu\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ : see below, and cf. Zabarella, *de mistione*, ch. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, II. ch. 8.—The name "Quaternary Compounds" was suggested to me by Mr J. A. Smith.

it is true, often uses inaccurate examples. Thus, he speaks of "Mead" as a product of *κρᾶσις*. But, if "Mead" is a *μιχθέν* or *κραθέν* at all, the *κρᾶσις* really takes place between the four Elements, which are the material constituents of the Honey and Wine:—not between the Honey and Wine themselves, as Aristotle's words suggest<sup>1</sup>.

The difference between any two *ὁμοιομερῆ*—e.g. between Flesh and Bone, or Flesh and Gold—depends upon the "combining-proportions" of the constituent Elements. So many degrees of "hot" and so many degrees of "cold," combined with so many degrees of "moist" and so many degrees of "dry," produce *Flesh*: whilst less or more degrees of "hot" and "cold," combining with less or more degrees of "moist" and "dry," produce *Bone* or *Gold*<sup>2</sup>. The definition of any *ὁμοιομερές* is a formula expressing the ratio between the numbers of the degrees in which Fire, Earth, Air and Water (or Hot, Dry, Moist and Cold<sup>3</sup>) respectively enter into the combination from which that *ὁμοιομερές* results. In short, the definition of any *ὁμοιομερές* is the *λόγος τῆς μίξεως* of its constituents<sup>4</sup>. *Σάρξ* is "Earth, Air, Fire and Water *ὥδὲ μεμιγμένα*"—i.e. combined in *these* determinate numerical proportions. *Ὅστουν* is the same four Elements "*ὥδὲ μεμιγμένα*"—i.e. combined in *those* determinate proportions. Or, any *ὁμοιομερές* is "*μίξις*

<sup>1</sup> See Zabarella, *de mistione*, ch. 13 (p. 482 B in the Cologne edition of 1594). The reason is that the Active and Passive Qualities, which are the necessary conditions of *μίξις*, belong primarily to the Elements. Cf. Zabarella, *l. c.*, 484 C, D. Cf. also *de gen. et corr.*, II. ch. 7 and 8, to which Zab. refers.

<sup>2</sup> The four Elements (or the four Elementary Qualities) produce the resultant by reciprocal Action and Passion of a certain kind: see more below.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle speaks *indifferently* of the four Elements and of the four Elementary Qualities as components of the *ὁμοιομερῆ*. Cf. e.g. *de gen. et*

*corr.*, 334 B 17, ἔσται δὲ μιχθέντων τὰλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐναντιῶν ἢ ("or, if you prefer it") τῶν στοιχείων.... We shall see the reason of this presently.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *de anima*, 408 A 14, οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει λόγον ἡ μίξις τῶν στοιχείων καθ' ἣν σὰρξ καὶ καθ' ἣν ὄστούν.—The Elements, or the characteristic Elementary Contrary Qualities, correspond in Aristotle's conception of *μίξις* to the Hydrogen, Oxygen, Carbon, Nitrogen etc. of modern chemistry. The compound, *σὰρξ*, might be expressed e.g. as  $E_6A_4F_3W_2$  (the letters standing for Earth, Air, Fire and Water), much as we express Water as  $H_2O$ .

τοιαδί"—such and such a numerically-determinate combination—of the four Elements<sup>1</sup>.

It is thus clear that Aristotle recognizes *in principle* the modern distinction between mechanical mixture and chemical combination. But the details of his theory of *μίξις* are quite remote from modern speculation. And as these details are difficult and obscure, I shall devote the remainder of my paper to their consideration. I shall ask two main questions: (1) What are the constituents of the first (or simplest) chemical compound? (2) What takes place between these constituents in the process which Aristotle calls *μίξις*?

### § 3. THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE *ὁμοιομερῆ*.

In *μίξις*, the constituents reciprocally "alter" one another. For reciprocal Action and Passion of the constituents is the necessary condition of chemical combination: and this kind of Action and Passion is "alteration," i.e. modification of sensible quality<sup>2</sup>. Hence, by considering the conditions of reciprocal Action and Passion, we can determine what must be the character of the constituents of a *μιχθέν*.

Now (i) only that which is "material," can *suffer* Action. Hence, each of the constituents, *quod* undergoing Action, involves *ὑλη*<sup>3</sup>.

And (ii) if *A* is to act on *B*, *A* and *B* must be "contrary" to one another: i.e. *A* and *B* must be identical in *γένος*, but different in *εἶδος*; or, identical in *ὑλη* or *δύναμις*, but contrasted in form or actuality<sup>4</sup>.

Since, then, all the constituents of a *μιχθέν* reciprocally act

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *Met.* H. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *De gen. et corr.*, 323 a 16—20. Cf. also, *ib.*, 328 β 22, ἡ δὲ μίξις τῶν μικτῶν ἀλλοιωθέντων ἐνῶσις.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. *de gen. et corr.*, 324 β 18 ff., ἡ δ' ὑλη ἣ ὑλη παθητικόν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πῦρ ἔχει ἐν ὑλῃ τὸ θερμόν· εἰ δέ τι εἴη θερμὸν χωριστόν, τοῖτο οἴσθιν ἂν πασχοί. Cf. also 329 a 27 ff., quoted below.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. *de gen. et corr.*, I. ch. 7.

These conditions hold wherever the Agent is also acted upon: i.e. wherever

Action and Passion are reciprocal. And it is only with *reciprocal* Action and Passion that we are here concerned. In another sense of "Action," *A* may act on *B* without itself being acted upon by *B*. So e.g. the art of healing produces health by "acting on" the body: but the patient does not react on the art of healing. In this case, ἡ ἰατρικὴ ποιεῖ ἀπαθὲς οὖσα, and ἡ ἰατρικὴ does not involve the same ὑλη as τὸ ὑγιαζόμενον.

on one another, and reciprocally are acted upon by one another:—it follows, that they must all be contrasted forms of one and the same Matter. But—as we shall see—the four Elements alone fulfil these conditions.

The character of the four Elements, considered simply as uncompounded or primary bodies, depends upon the regions of the physical Universe which are severally appropriate to them. The nature of Fire, e.g., is to be at the uppermost place: the nature of Earth to be at the lowest place, and so on. From this point of view, the Element of Fire as a Whole constitutes the uppermost portion of the Universe<sup>1</sup>, the Element of Earth as a Whole constitutes the lowest portion, and the Elements of Water and Air constitute the intermediate portions. Moreover, on this depends the Weight of those portions of the Elements which we observe in the sublunary sphere. Any piece of Earth, e.g., inevitably tends to move downwards towards its appropriate region:—i.e. is “heavy.” Any piece of Fire inevitably tends to move upwards towards *its* appropriate place:—i.e. is “light.” And this tendency to movement in a determinate direction constitutes the φύσις of the Elements: it is the expression of that immanent ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, which is their φύσις.

Considered, therefore, as uncompounded or primary natural bodies, the Elements are characterized by their immanent tendencies to movement. These tendencies are determined by the regions in the Universe which are appropriate to the different Elements. And the characteristic properties of the Elements in this respect are their “lightness” and “heaviness<sup>2</sup>.”

But portions of the Elements in the sublunary sphere combine chemically to form the ὁμοιομερῆ: and it is *quâ* materials for such chemical compounds, *quâ* Elements-of-the-Composite, that we are here interested in Earth, Air, Fire and Water<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The fifth Element, the Aether, envelopes the whole physical Universe. But we are not concerned with it here, since it plays no part in μῆξις.

<sup>2</sup> It is from this point of view that the *de caelo* treats the Elements.

<sup>3</sup> It is from this point of view that

Aristotle treats the Elements in the *de gen. et corr.* Cf. Zabarella, *de naturalis scientiae constitutione*, ch. 21. The *subiectum* of the *de gen. et corr.* is “corpus mistum”: the Elements are considered in that work simply as “principia subiecti.”

They—and they alone—are fitted to serve as materials of chemical compounds. And they are so fitted (i) by the fact that they all involve one and the same *ἔλη*, and (ii) in virtue of certain contrary qualities which characterize them.

(i) The Elements are to be conceived as the first informations of *πρώτη ἔλη*<sup>1</sup>. *πρώτη ἔλη* does not exist “apart” or *per se* as an actual body. For every actual body exhibits determinate perceptible qualities: but *πρώτη ἔλη* is *in itself* indifferently receptive of all perceptible qualities, and actually determined by none. It is *potentially* both sets of the contrary qualities: but *actually*, *quâ* *πρώτη ἔλη*, it is neither Hot nor Cold, neither Moist nor Dry, neither Heavy nor Light.

None the less, *πρώτη ἔλη* must be postulated as the common substratum of all four Elements, although it never exists except as determinately qualified and formed, viz. as one or other of the Elements<sup>2</sup>. It is this *πρώτη ἔλη* which, by passing from contrary to contrary qualities of itself, renders possible the cycle of transmutations through which the four Elements run. For a contrary quality taken bare cannot become its contrary. It has to be substantiated, or imbedded in Matter. It is Matter that passes from one contrary state of itself to another<sup>3</sup>.

(ii) The reciprocal Action and Passion of the Elements, and their transmutations, thus depend in the first place on the fact that they all share the same *πρώτη ἔλη*. An equally essential condition of their reciprocal Action and Passion is given in the pairs of contrary qualities which characterize them<sup>4</sup>. For, although Contrary cannot act on Contrary bare,

<sup>1</sup> The Elements are called “simple” (“uncompounded”) bodies as the immediate, or first, informations of *πρώτη ἔλη*.—It must be remembered that the Fire, Air, Earth and Water of our experience are always to some extent mixed or impure. The Element of Fire, e.g., in its purity exists only in its proper place:—i.e. at the uppermost region of the physical Universe.

<sup>2</sup> *De gen. et corr.*, 329 a 24, ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμέν μὲν εἶναι τινα ἔλην τῶν σωμάτων

τῶν αἰσθητῶν—ἀλλὰ ταύτην οὐ χωριστὴν ἀλλ’ αἰετ’ ἐναντιώσεως—ἐξ ἧς γίνεται τὰ καλούμενα στοιχεῖα. Cf. Zabarella’s commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, 329 a 29... ἀρχὴν μὲν καὶ πρώτην οἰομένοις εἶναι τὴν ἔλην τὴν ἀχώριστον μὲν, ὑποκειμένην δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἔλη τῷ ψυχρῷ οὔτε τοῦτο τῷ θερμῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἀμφοῖν.

<sup>4</sup> The passage quoted in the preceding note continues:—ὥστε πρῶτον

yet the common substratum must be invested with contrary qualities, if Action and Passion are to take place. And indeed the Contraries are the more operative conditions of the process.

Of all the pairs of contrary qualities, only two come into account as fitting the Elements to be constituents of the *ὁμοιομερῆ*: viz. the Hot and Cold, and the Dry and Moist. For we are concerned with such contrary qualities as, by inherence in *πρώτη ὕλη*, determine it to become sensible bodies which are fitted to combine chemically. Now, *tactual* qualities alone are common to all sensible bodies. Hence it is the tactual qualities which must be taken as the primary constitutive conditions of the Elements so far as they enter into *μίξεις*. All the resultants of *μίξεις* are at any rate *tactually* perceptible: and therefore their constituents must be characterized by tactual contraries. Not all the resultants of *μίξεις* are audible or possessed of flavour or scent or colour: and therefore the constituents of *τὰ μυχθέντα* are not characterized primarily and as such by the contrary qualities of Taste, Smell, Hearing or Vision. And, amongst the tactual qualities, the Light and Heavy are neither "active" nor "passive": and the remainder reduce to the Hot and Cold, and the Moist and Dry, as their primary forms<sup>1</sup>.

Of these four qualities, two (the Hot and the Cold) are "active": and two (the Moist and the Dry) are "passive." For it is *essential* to the "Hot" to bring together what is homogeneous, and to separate what is heterogeneous. If, e.g., wine be heated in a closed vessel, the Heat will collect all the earthy particles at the bottom and all the vaporous particles at the top. So it is *essential* to the "Cold" to bring together homogeneous and heterogeneous things alike. If, e.g., Water freezes right through, the Cold will bring (and hold) together everything which was contained in it—bits of wood, straws, etc. On the other hand, it is *essential* to the "Moist" to have no

μὲν τὸ δυνάμει σῶμα αἰσθητὸν ἀρχή, δεῦτερον δ' αἱ ἐναντιώσεις, λέγω δ' οἶον θερμότης καὶ ψυχρότης, τρίτον δ' ἤδη πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰυτὰ μὲν γὰρ μεταβάλλει εἰς ἄλληλα, . . . αἱ δ' ἐναντιώσεις οὐ μεταβάλλουσιν.—In other words, the material conditions of the

*μυχθέντα* are *proximately* the four Elements; but *ultimately* the *πρώτη ὕλη* and the *ἐναντιώσεις*, which these involve.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, II. ch. 2: and see Zabarella's commentary *ad loc.*

determinate shape of its own, but readily to adapt its outline to the shape of its continent<sup>1</sup>: whilst it is *essential* to the "Dry" to have a determinate outline of its own, and thus passively to resist modification of its shape by any external agent<sup>2</sup>.

By combining these qualities two and two (of course eliminating the contradictory combinations, Hot-Cold and Dry-Moist), we get four pairs of qualities: and each pair characterizes one of the four Elements. Thus, the Hot-Dry is Fire, the Hot-Moist Air: the Cold-Dry is Earth, and the Cold-Moist Water. And since *Fire*, most of all Elements, possesses the power of heating, it is to be regarded as Hot rather than Dry. Since *Water* most possesses the property of making cold, it is to be regarded as Cold rather than Moist. Since *Earth* of all Elements most resists the modification of its outline, it is Dry rather than Cold. And lastly since *Air* most readily adapts its shape to its continent, it is Moist (Fluid) rather than Hot<sup>3</sup>.

#### § 4. WHAT TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE ELEMENTS IN THE PROCESS OF $\mu\tilde{\iota}\xi\varsigma$ ?

(i) The Elements act on one another, when they are brought into contact, in virtue of the contrariety of their respective qualities. And the Matter, which underlies them all, changes from one to the other, according as one or the other contrary quality prevails in the conflict. If, e.g., Fire and Air come into contact, the Moist in the Air and the Dry in the Fire act on one another. And if the Moist prevails over the Dry,

<sup>1</sup> From some points of view "Fluid" would be a better translation of  $\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$  than "Moist." But its contrary,  $\xi\eta\rho\acute{o}\nu$ , seems to mean "Dry" rather than "Solid."

<sup>2</sup> *De gen. et corr.*, II. ch. 2.— $\xi\eta\rho\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\psi\upsilon\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu$ , it will be seen, are terms with a precise scientific signification in Aristotle's physical theories. On the whole subject, see Zabarella, *de qualitatibus elementaribus*.

<sup>3</sup> *De gen. et corr.*, II. ch. 3. The above seems to be the only possible way of interpreting 331 a 3—6. See Zabarella, *de qual. elem.*, II. chs. 2 and 3.—On the vexed question as to how these Qualities are related to the Elements (whether as their Forms, Matter, or Propria), see Zabarella's commentary on *de gen. et corr.*, p. 894.

the Matter, which (as Hot-Dry) was Fire, becomes Hot-Moist : i.e. Fire has been destroyed, and Air has come into being<sup>1</sup>.

This is a case of *φθορά* of Fire and *γένεσις* of Air. But suppose that neither contrary quality is present in such overwhelming force as to prevail completely over the other. Suppose that, as the result of the interaction, the Moist becomes less moist and the Dry less dry:—so that e.g. in place of eight degrees of Moist and eight degrees of Dry, we have a resultant quality which may be called indifferently “four degrees Moist” or “four degrees Dry”:—then we should have a *μῖξις*. For the resultant would be a compound, whose quality was midway between the extreme Dryness of the Fire and the extreme Moistness of the Air. The Fire would have lost its superlative degree of Dryness, and the Air its superlative degree of Moistness: or the Dryness of the Fire would have been tempered with Moistness, and *vice versa*.

This would be an imperfect *μῖξις*, because the Hotness of the Fire and the Hotness of the Air would remain unaffected. In a complete *μῖξις* (as we have said), all four Elements would enter into combination, and all four qualities would be modified. Moreover, as we shall learn presently, besides the tempering of Hot by Cold and Dry by Moist, a genuine “chemical combination” involves a further process, in which the tempered Hot operates on the Dry and Moist.

In the meantime, we can lay it down that the amounts of the Elements (or the intensities of the contrary qualities which they bring with them) must be balanced, if they are to combine. The Hot, e.g., must not be present in such overwhelming force, as to overcome the Cold altogether<sup>2</sup>. When the constituents are present in reasonably equal amounts, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, II. ch. 4. On the conception of “contact” (*ἄφῆ*), see *de gen. et corr.*, 322 β 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle (*de gen. et corr.*, 328 a 23 ff.) illustrates somewhat popularly. If a drop of wine be poured into a reservoir of water, there is no *κρᾶσις*, but a *φθορά* of the wine and an *αἰξίσις* of the water. The *εἶδος* of the wine

is dissolved, and it changes into the totality of the water. But if there is a certain balance between the Powers of Action of the two constituents, each passes out of its own nature towards the other, but neither becomes the other. Each becomes a something midway between, and common to, the two.

contrary qualities which they involve will (by reciprocal Action and Passion) lose more or less of their extremeness, or a greater or lesser number of their degrees of intensity. And, *if this were the whole of the process*, the result would be the emerging of two fresh qualities (viz. the tempered Hot and the tempered Dry), each of which would be a compromise between two of the original four qualities.

So far as the Elements have lost some degrees of their characteristic qualities, *μῖξις* may be regarded as a *φθορά* of them and as a *γένεσις* of the *μιχθέν*. But so far as the qualities of the Elements are retained in the *μιχθέν* with a diminished and altered intensity, the Elements must be said to be potentially in the *μιχθέν*: and they can be re-created from the *μιχθέν*, by processes which restore the missing degrees of intensity to the tempered contrary qualities<sup>1</sup>.

Aristotle's theory of *μῖξις*, therefore, essentially involves the conception of degrees of intensity in the characteristic elementary qualities, and of a *μέσον* towards which the conflicting contraries are brought by their reciprocal Action and Passion. The *μέσον* in question is, of course, not a single degree, but has a certain range. And the differences between the various *ὁμοιομερῇ* no doubt depend on the exact degrees of intensity, at which the conflicting contrary qualities are compromised in them<sup>2</sup>. And this in turn depends chiefly upon the degrees of intensity of their characteristic qualities, which the constituents brought into this or that *μῖξις*.

(ii) But we have stated only half the doctrine. For the four contrary qualities play a double part in the production of a *μιχθέν*. Everyone of them, in relation to its contrary, is "active" in the sense that it tends to convert it into itself. And everyone of them, in relation to its contrary, is "passive" in the sense that it is liable to be converted. This is the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, 334<sup>β</sup> 8 ff. Alexander, *l. c.*, p. 230 ll. 14 ff. Zabarella, *de mistione*, ch. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *de gen. et corr.*, 334<sup>β</sup> 20 ff. . . . ἐκ δὲ τούτων σάρκες καὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὲν θερμοῦ γιγνομένου ψυχροῦ, τοῦ

δὲ ψυχροῦ θερμοῦ, ὅταν πρὸς τὸ μέσον ἔλθῃ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδέτερον, τὸ δὲ μέσον πολὺ καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλετον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ μεσότητα ποιοῦσι σάρκα καὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ τᾶλλα.

"action" of contrary on contrary, in which Patient reacts and Agent is in turn Patient. And, since Agent and Patient are external to one another, the Action may be called "transient." Besides this "transient action" of contrary on contrary, we must recognize (a) the "action" of an artificer on his ὕλη, which, although "transient," does not involve reaction; and (b) the "action" of the Form of living and growing things on their Matter, which involves no reaction and is "immanent." In the growth of living things, the Form of the plant or animal that is to be, operates as an "immanent" agent on the Matter. The seed owes its development to the activity of the Form which works, like an "immanent" artificer, on the ὕλη.

Now the constituents of a μίχθέν act *both* with the "transient action" of contrary on contrary, *and* with the "immanent action" of the Form of a living thing on its ὕλη. In the *de gen. et corr.*<sup>1</sup>, Aristotle treats of μίξις from the point of view of the *Elements which are combining*: and therefore he refers *there* only to the "transient action" of the constituents, viz. to the reciprocal alteration of the Elements *quâ* contraries. He says there simply that μίξις is "the unification of the four Elements, after they have been altered by reciprocal Action and Passion." But Aristotle regards the Hot and Cold as *par excellence* "active," and the Moist and Dry as *par excellence* "passive<sup>2</sup>." And, in this respect, the Hot and Cold *in combination* "work on" the Moist and Dry, with an "immanent action" like that of the Form on the Matter in the seed of a plant or animal. It is this "immanent" operation, which plays the chief part in the production of the μίχθέν: for the unification of substance, which is essential to a chemical compound, depends upon it. And since Aristotle treats of μίξις in the *Meteorologica*<sup>3</sup> from the point of view of the ὁμοιομερῆ in which the process results, it is natural that he should *there* supplement the account of the *de gen. et corr.* by explaining how the "unification" takes place. Hence the "transient action," as described in the *de gen. et corr.*, and the "immanent action" which is described in the *Meteorologica*, are both

<sup>1</sup> *de gen. et corr.*, i. ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, § 3 (ii).

<sup>3</sup> *Meteorologica*, iv. ch. 1.

required for the production of the *ὁμοιομερῇ*. And in order to understand Aristotle's conception of *μῖξις*, we must read these two passages together.

By their "transient action," the Hot and the Cold reciprocally modify one another: for they are contraries embedded in the same *ὑλη*. The result is the emergence of an intermediate quality, which is *less-cold-and-more-hot* than the Cold and *less-hot-and-more-cold* than the Hot. We may call this emerging quality "the tempered Hot," because it is *quâ* Hot (rather than *quâ* Cold) that it plays its part in the final development of the *μιχθέν*<sup>1</sup>.

At the same time, the Moist and the Dry (by their "transient action") are tending towards an intermediate state, in which the Dry shall have become more pliable and more united by admixture of the Moist. This tempering of the Dry by the Moist proceeds more slowly than the tempering of the Hot by the Cold: and its completion is effected by the "immanent action" of the already tempered Hot<sup>2</sup>. I say "the *immanent* action"; for, in the production of the *μιχθέν*, the same four Elements (*quâ* Dry or Moist) are the Matter, and (*quâ* Hot or Cold) are the operative Agent. Hence the activity of the tempered Hot, which works up the Moist and Dry to complete unification, is an *immanent* operation.

It is in this sense that, as Aristotle says, "the Hot and Cold generate the *μιχθέν* by controlling its *ὑλη*." The *ὑλη* in question, as he has just explained, is "the Dry and Moist<sup>3</sup>." And the various kinds of dissolution and putrefaction, to which the *ὁμοιομερῇ* are subject, are due to the failure of this control.

<sup>1</sup> The Hot, if it were not tempered by Cold, would be destructive. But the Cold plays the part of an "artificer" in the production of the *μιχθέν* only *per accidens*: i.e. only *quâ* moderating the Hot. See Zabarella, *de misti generatione et interitu*, I. ch. 5: and *de qualitatibus elementaribus*, I. ch. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Meteor.*, 379 a 8 ff., διὸ ὑγρὰ πρῶτον, εἶτα ξηρὰ τέλος γίγνεται τὰ

σηπούμενα· ἐκ τοῦτων γὰρ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὠρίσθη τῷ ὑγρῷ τὸ ξηρὸν ἐργαζομένων τῶν ποιητικῶν. The comparative slowness of the interaction of the Dry and Moist is apparently due to the "passivity" of their nature: but Aristotle has left this part of his theory very obscure. Cf. Zabarella, *de misti gen. et interitu*, I. ch. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Meteor.*, 378 β 31—379 a 1.

The end, to which all such processes of putrefaction lead, is brought about by the compound losing its proper Heat. For, as this vanishes, it carries with it the natural Moisture of the *μιχθέν*: and there remains the dry dust, which is invariably the ultimate product of the decay of any *όμοιομερές*<sup>1</sup>.

HAROLD H. JOACHIM.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 379 *a* 2—26, and see Zabarella's commentary *ad loc.*

## THE FORMATION OF THE JULIAN CALENDAR, WITH REFERENCE TO THE ASTRONOMICAL YEAR.

All calendars rest on an astronomical basis, though the astronomical phenomena which form that basis are not in all cases the same, and though the proportionate importance of the phenomena selected for use varies from calendar to calendar, as also does the accuracy of the calculations based on them. The formation of the Julian Calendar is the meeting point of a traditional calendar based on a rough astronomy with which it had long since lost contact, and of the Greek and Egyptian astronomical observations, which, in Europe at least, had not hitherto been accommodated to any calendar. It is an epoch in the history of calendars, because it served as a model on which other calendars were based, and because it gave to the mass of astronomical events a fixed place which rendered further astronomical observations unnecessary for calendar purposes. It was in a sense a crystallization of astronomy so far as solar and stellar phenomena were concerned. The Christian Easter Calendar served the same function in relation to lunar phenomena. And it may be asked whether by reducing astronomy to a merely speculative value, the Calendar was not in large measure responsible for the stagnation of that science.

The unreformed Roman Calendar and its sources fall outside the scope of the present paper. I intend to deal only with the astronomical data used by Julius Caesar in the construction of the reformed Calendar.

The most important feature of this Calendar is the length of the year, 365 days in ordinary years, and 366 days every fourth year, with an average length of 365 days, 6 hours. This

interval of 365 days, 6 hours was notoriously the mean interval which was supposed to elapse in Egypt between one heliacal rising of Sirius and the next. The heliacal rising of Sirius was one of the great events of the astronomical year to the Egyptians, and it is believed by many Egyptologists<sup>1</sup> that in addition to a vague year of 365 days which might commence at any season of the year, the Egyptians had a fixed year averaging  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, which always began on the festival of the heliacal rising of Sirius. Be that as it may, we have the date of the heliacal rising of Sirius in terms of the vague year, recorded on quite a large number of monuments of different times. This fact alone will show the chronological importance that was attached to that date. The earliest such inscription belongs to the 12th dynasty, and from the date given for the heliacal rising of Sirius, it has been calculated that the inscription in question must belong either to the 19th or to the 34th century before our era. In Egyptian chronology "a thousand years are as one day," and a difference of nearly fifteen centuries in alternative dates for the same king need not frighten us. It is enough for us to know that the year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days is very ancient. It happens also to be very correct, in fact it is within a minute or two of the mean astronomical interval between two successive heliacal risings of Sirius.

Before the discovery of precession there was no reason to suppose that the annual solar and stellar phenomena did not all recur at precisely the same interval. Very accurate observation would be necessary in order to determine the difference between one astronomical year and another; and practical convenience, perhaps combined with religious motives, may have led the Egyptians to select the heliacal rising of Sirius for observation. In any case the mean year thus obtained, 365 days, 6 hours, was of a convenient length, and was not likely to be readily displaced.

It is natural to suppose that the year of 365 days, 6 hours was adopted by the Greek astronomers direct from Egypt, and I see no reason for believing that any other length was assigned to the natural year till the time of Ptolemy. This view may

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscript. Ægypt.*

seem at variance with the statements of Geminus and Censorinus. To the statements of the latter I do not attach much importance. He attributes to different astronomers computations varying from 364 days to 366 days, but when we find him attributing to Callippus a year of 365 days only<sup>1</sup>, and remember that Callippus is most famous for his 76 years' luni-solar cycle each year of which averaged 365 days, 6 hours, we shall know how to value his other statements. In reading Geminus we must bear in mind that the leading Greek astronomers were all calendar-makers; Meton, Callippus, and Hipparchus had their cycles, each of which was so constructed as to contain an integral number of days, of lunar months, and of years. To do this it was necessary to do violence either to the mean length of the month or to that of the year or perhaps of both. Both Meton and Hipparchus have in consequence done some violence to the year, but Geminus at least never suggests that they regarded the mean year of their respective cycles as the true astronomical year. It was simply the nearest approximation compatible with the principle of a luni-solar calendar.

Let us look a little more closely at the work of these early astronomers, for in their tables we have the astronomical antecedents of the Julian Calendar. Meton is famous for his cycle, which, we are told, he set forth in tabular form<sup>2</sup>. He would probably mark every day for nineteen years, giving its date according to his reformed Attic Calendar. This cycle of lunar months was given its setting by the insertion of the great annual events of the astronomical year, the equinoxes and solstices, and the heliacal rising of  $\text{Κίωρ}$ <sup>3</sup>; and, curiously enough, statements of the weather that might be expected at different seasons were also inserted. The only reason for supposing that annual risings and settings were inserted is the quotation by Geminus of Meton's date for the heliacal rising of Sirius. But surely this event stood by itself. I have

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ælian*, var. x. 7.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{Κίωρ}$  may be either the constellation Canis Major or its brightest star Sirius. It is doubtful whether

most of those who refer to the heliacal rising of  $\text{Κίωρ}$  had asked themselves whether they meant the star or the constellation.

noticed that both in Babylonian and Egyptian calendars the heliacal rising of Sirius is shown where no other fixed stars are mentioned. In its main features Meton's Calendar must have resembled the Babylonian calendars reproduced in Epping and Strassmaier's "*Astronomisches aus Babylon.*" These calendars follow the calendar year, which was lunar, but mark the dates of the solstices and equinoxes, the annual risings and settings of Sirius, the eclipses, and the position of the planets. Eclipses and planetary positions, not being governed by a 19 years' cycle, could find no place in Meton's table, but their place is, as we have seen, taken by predictions of weather, said to have been derived from Democritus. The Calendar of Polemius Silvius, though accommodated to the solar, not the lunar year, gives exactly such notices as are attributed to Meton and no others, viz. equinoxes and solstices, the heliacal rising of Sirius, and notices of the weather.

It will be observed that the dates in Meton's Calendar are absolute dates to anyone who already knows the current date according to the Metonic Calendar, and they could be treated as absolute dates by anyone who could identify any Metonic date with a date in a fixed calendar. But as the Metonic Calendar appears never to have been adopted in civil life, it is probable that the vast majority of those who studied it were unable to treat his dates as anything more than relative dates.

Another type of astronomical table or calendar is furnished by the *παράπηγματα*. Here we have the annual astronomical events, such as the solstices and equinoxes, the entrance of the sun into the different signs, the annual rising and setting of different stars, and, as before, indications of weather, all arranged in their proper order. No reference is made to any civil calendar, and in the oldest citations that have come down to us, those namely of Geminus, the dates are given by the number of days that the sun had been in some sign of the zodiac. Several meteorological dates from Democritus are found in later *παράπηγματα*; but the earliest writer from whom any large number of astronomical dates is quoted is Eudoxus, and these two may perhaps be regarded as the

founders of this kind of year; it is a carefully mapped out astronomical year, but the dates are all relative, and it is necessary to find one's position in it by observation. Contemporary with Eudoxus is Euctemon. Geminus quotes dates freely from him as well as from Eudoxus, and it is clear that he must either have composed *παραπήγματα* of his own or have inserted in Meton's tables astronomical dates such as appear in the *παραπήγματα*. Whatever form these calendars may have originally assumed, they have only come down in the form of *παραπήγματα*, and the astronomical dates of the early astronomers are only quoted by the intervals between different annual astronomical events. Callippus is freely quoted in this way by his successors, and therefore probably drew out such a table. Aratus knows the established sequence of phenomena, but does not set it out in tabular form. Hipparchus deals with the phenomena at length, but as he did not arrange his results in tabular form, the later *parapegmatists* have ignored them.

Before leaving these old astronomical calendars I think it necessary to say a few words about the attempt that has been made to extract fixed dates from them. Some minds can only think in terms of our own calendar and will not be satisfied with any date that cannot be reduced to it. I will take Unger<sup>1</sup> as an example. He knows from Diodorus that the Metonic Calendar began on Skirophorion 13, a date that must in 432 B.C. have fallen on or very near the summer solstice; and he learns from Ptolemy (*Math. Syn.* III) that Meton and Euctemon observed a summer solstice under the archonship of Apseudes (i.e. 432 B.C.), on the morning of the 21st of Phamenoth according to the Egyptian Calendar. Phamenoth 21, 432 B.C., is easily converted into June 27, so that here we are supposed to have Meton's and also Euctemon's date for the summer solstice. But it is highly improbable that either of these astronomers quoted the Egyptian date, and it therefore follows that Ptolemy or one of his predecessors must either have calculated the date backwards from some known date in the Metonic Calendar, in which case it might be right, or else have calculated the solstice and thus obtained the date for the beginning of the first

<sup>1</sup> In Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, Vol. I. p. 585, ed. 1.

Metonic cycle. In this latter case the date as a date for the solstice is not Meton's, but the calculator's.

But supposing that Meton dated this particular solstice on a date corresponding to the Julian June 27, it does not follow that all his summer solstices would fall on that day. After 76 years all the dates in his cycle would fall one day later as compared with the Julian Calendar, after 152 years two days later, and so on. So far as Euctemon is concerned, it is probably only his date in the sense that he used Meton's Calendar. But this is enough for Unger. In the *Εὐδόξου τέχνη* ("Notices des MSS. Bibliothèque Impériale," XVIII, ii, p. 74) we are told that according to Euctemon the interval between the summer and winter solstices was 180 days. From this it is inferred that Euctemon dated the winter solstice on December 24. But Geminus cites as Euctemon's date for the winter solstice the first day of the sun's passage through Capricorn, and for Callippus's date for the summer solstice the first day of the sun's passage through Cancer, which in Geminus is placed 181 days earlier than the first day of Capricorn. From this we are told that it follows that Callippus dated the summer solstice 181 days before Euctemon's date for the winter solstice, as referred to the Julian year, that is to say, on June 26. Anyone may see that this is absurd. Geminus knows nothing of absolute dates. He is merely recording that these astronomers, as a well-informed astronomer would do, placed the two solstices at the entrance of the sun into Cancer and Capricorn respectively. We have really got to the end of our tether. If Ptolemy's statement about Meton and Euctemon proves any absolute dates, it proves them of Meton and Euctemon only.

Let us now try to conceive for a moment the state of the *παραπήγματα* when Sosigenes was entrusted with the task of framing the Julian Calendar. I do not suppose that ancient astronomers were less like sheep than other ancient scholars, or than modern scholars for that matter. Nevertheless there is a great variety in the dates preserved to us. As the variety is as great between the dates attributed by different writers to the same astronomer for one event, as between the dates

attributed by the same writer to different astronomers, I infer that the differences are just as often due to confusion as to separate observations. Such confusion was easy. There was no uniform system for expressing these dates. Later writers generally quote earlier writers according to the system they employed themselves, but the system varied greatly. Of works that have come down to us, Geminus dates by the position of the sun in the different signs; while the Εὐδόξου τέχνη simply enumerates the interval in days between one annual rising or setting and another, and the interval in days according to different astronomers between the different solstices and equinoxes. It once ventures on a calendar date, viz. the 19th or 20th of Athyr, as Democritus's and Eudoxus's date for the winter solstice. As this is a date of the vague Egyptian year it cannot help us much. It is clearly not the date given by either of those astronomers, but must belong to the second century B.C. Ptolemy dates these astronomical appearances by the Alexandrian Calendar, and all other tables with which I am acquainted employ the Julian Calendar. Even if the reckoning of time by the signs of the zodiac had early established itself there would still be room for confusion. While most astronomers divided the signs as we do, so as to make a new sign begin where the ecliptic reaches a tropic or the equator, Eudoxus chose to divide the signs so as to place each of these points in the middle of a sign. When we consider the confusion that must have been caused by transferring dates from one relation to another, we need not suppose when we come across an apparently false date that the date is necessarily right or that the event in question was calculated in some peculiar way which would give the date required.

What now did Sosigenes do? He found before him a number of series of astronomical dates relative to one another, and he chose what he considered the best of such series. Perhaps he combined two or more series, and corrected them according to his own knowledge; lastly he must have selected one or more dates which he could refer to some existing, probably to the Egyptian, calendar for the current year, and thus he was able when publishing the revised Roman Fasti to

append to them a whole series of astronomical dates, no longer merely relative to one another, but fixed to a place in the new calendar year.

One of the first things that strikes us in examining the astronomical dates in Caesar's Calendar—they may be seen in Pliny, Columella, and for the first six months of the year in Ovid's *Fasti*—is that they are often hopelessly wrong. The equinoxes and solstices are about two days too late, the sun is made to enter the different signs about four days too early; the morning and evening risings and settings of stars are sometimes late and sometimes early, sometimes months distant from their proper positions. Explanations have been offered. The risings and settings are supposed sometimes to be theoretical, sometimes apparent, sometimes valid for this latitude, sometimes for that. Petavius found that the solstices and equinoxes were not intended to be apparent but mean solstices and equinoxes. In order to explain the dates assigned for the entrance of the sun into the different signs a statement in Columella<sup>1</sup> has been seized on, in which he declares that he is following Meton, Eudoxus, and the ancient astronomers in placing the solstices and equinoxes in the eighth instead of the first degree of their respective signs, and treats Hipparchus's conduct in choosing to make the signs begin with the solstices and equinoxes themselves as a subtlety. That Eudoxus did not place these events in the eighth degree, but in the middle of the sign, may be proved from his own words as quoted by Hipparchus. There is more room for doubt about Meton. It is nowhere stated that his tables mentioned the entrance of the sun into the different signs. But if he did deal with the division of the signs, it is quite possible that he divided them in the way Columella says. The signs of the zodiac are simply the zodiacal constellations adapted to purposes of celestial measurement. The Babylonian astronomers used to mark the position of the moon or of a planet by means of normal stars or sometimes of constellations. Jupiter, they would say, is above or below such and such a fixed star. (See the tables in Epping

<sup>1</sup> IX. 14.

and Strassmaier.) From this rough method to that of naming the position in a marked off sign is only one step. But the signs originally began near the point where the ecliptic entered the constellations from which they derived their names. If their position was fixed with reference to the stars, the points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator and the solstitial colures would slowly move owing to precession, and the position of the equinoxes and solstices would tend to advance towards the beginning of the sign in which they stood. I doubt whether we can give the point where the Babylonian signs began to an exact degree; it has however been calculated that in the sixth century B.C. the equinoxes and solstices would come in the eighth degree, but by the time of Julius Caesar would have advanced to the beginning of their respective signs. If then Meton took over a description of the signs from a Babylonian source slightly older than himself Columella's statement may be true. It is all a question of evidence; and the evidence for such a division of signs in Greek astronomy is practically *nil*. Aratus, Callippus, Democritus, Dionysius, Euclid, Euctemon, Geminus, Hipparchus, Ovid, and Plutarch are all quoted on the other side. The entrance of the sun into Aries and the vernal equinox are with most writers on Easter and Passover interchangeable terms, and I have never myself come across the distinction in question except in writers using the Julian Calendar, and dealing with the Calendar. The only other passages quoted for such a division of signs are one in Manetho, which I have not been able to discover, and one from the Scholiast on Aratus 499, who, however, instead of shifting the boundary between signs, gives a new meaning to the solstice, placing it not where the sun reaches his farthest distance from the equator, but where some days later he begins definitely to turn towards the equator again. Such an explanation would not apply to the equinoxes, and is clearly a rival explanation of the difficulty occasioned by the distinction between the solstices and the entrance of the sun into the signs to which they belong, as presented by Caesar's Calendar. Can we believe that Caesar restored to currency a reckoning originally derived from Babylon, unknown to most, perhaps to all Greek astro-

nomers, and superseded centuries before his time among the Babylonians themselves?

May I venture to suggest what seems to me an easier explanation of Columella's language? Theodore Mommsen has already suggested that the unnamed ancient astronomers are Sosigenes and the others whom Caesar consulted. I would go one step further and suggest that Columella had before him nothing but a table of *parapegmata* accommodated to the Julian Calendar. Many such have come down to us. Here he might find Meton's and Eudoxus's dates for the equinoxes and solstices, or some of them, standing clearly eight days after Caesar's notice of the entrance of the sun into the corresponding sign. What more natural than to suppose that Meton and Eudoxus had placed these events in the eighth degree of the sign? In this case the "ancient astronomers" will not be Sosigenes and his colleagues, nor yet any other astronomers with whose writings Columella was acquainted. They would simply be the writers on whose dates the '*parapegmata*' in question professed to be founded. This theory has, I think, not only the advantage of simplicity. It does not assume that Columella possessed any very recondite knowledge of the history of astronomy.

So much for the attempts to represent Caesar's dates as astronomically correct. I have yet to explain how they arose, if false. A full answer is impossible as we have not the data which Sosigenes employed. But I will attempt a partial answer. Sosigenes, as I suggested above, would employ dates already fixed in relation to a definite calendar. Such dates would be the heliacal rising of Sirius, the solstices, and the equinoxes. These events figure in many calendars not professedly astronomical. They certainly figure in Egyptian and Babylonian calendars that have come down to us. The heliacal rising of Sirius was preëminently *the* date for correlating the solar and calendar years among the Egyptians. The festival of the heliacal rising of Sirius was, as is well known, kept on a date corresponding to the Julian 20th of July. Let us turn to the Julian Calendar. The heliacal rising of Sirius is there marked down for the 20th of July. As to the solstices and

equinoxes, the dates given by Caesar might easily be derived from observations made a century or two before his time. An astronomer, unacquainted with precession, would see no reason to suspect that the date of these events in relation to the heliacal rising of Sirius had changed, and might even allow his respect for the great names of the past to override his own observations. The dates for the entrance of the sun into the different signs and for the annual risings and settings are probably compiled from the *parapegmata*. All that was required was a starting point, and such a starting point was furnished by the heliacal rising of Sirius. That this event was popularly regarded among the Greeks as synchronous with the entrance of the sun into Leo can be proved by abundant testimony. Aratus (*Phaen.* 590—595) makes the rising of the fore-paws of the dog<sup>1</sup> coincide with the entrance of the sun into Leo. Geminus (*Parapegmata*, XIV.) states that at Rhodes, the great astronomical school of the third and second centuries before Christ, the dog-star rises 30 days after the summer solstice. As he allows the sun 31 days to pass through the sign of Cancer, this means just before the sun enters Leo. He quotes various astronomers for dates varying from the 23rd day of Cancer to the first day of Leo for the annual rising of *κύων*. Euctemon is quoted for the statement that it rises on the 27th day of Cancer, and that it is conspicuous on the 1st day of Leo, and for the former of these events Eudoxus is quoted along with Euctemon. Hipparchus (ii. 3, Migne) places the rising of *κύων* 30 days after the summer solstice, and places the entrance of the sun into Leo at the same time. In ii. 8 he quotes Aratus and Eudoxus for the coincidence between the rising of Leo and the rising of the fore-paws of the dog, and, if we make an obvious correction of his text, he asserts that the whole of *κύων* rises at this time, not the fore-paws only. Elsewhere (iii. 4) he asserts that *κύων* begins to rise on the 15th day in Cancer and continues to rise till the 15th day in Leo. The pseudo-Hipparchus, 2, also asserts that with the rising of Leo the fore-paws of *κύων* also rise, the hind-paws

<sup>1</sup> i.e. of  $\beta$  Canis majoris. The dog-star itself should rise a few days later.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 89, note 2 above.

not rising till the rising of Virgo. Of later writers Varro, Columella, Palladius, Manilius, and Firmicus<sup>1</sup> make the rising of Canis or Canicula correspond with the entrance of the sun into Leo, and this was obviously the commonly received date, though it is not clear whether most almanack makers had asked themselves whether they intended this to be the date when the first star of the constellation appeared or when its brightest star appeared. Here then was a starting point for the entrance of the sun into the different signs. We may exclaim in alarm that the date of the heliacal rising of Sirius is derived from the latitude of Egypt; the coincidence with the entrance of the sun into Leo from the latitude of Greece. These things did not trouble Caesar, nor yet his subjects. There is a story in Plutarch<sup>2</sup> that someone remarked to Cicero, "Lyra will rise to-morrow." To which Cicero replied, "Of course it will. There is an edict for it." Had he looked for the star next morning he might have discovered that Caesar's edicts were not so consistently obeyed in heaven as on earth, but doubtless he would have blamed his own eyesight sooner than cast a reproach on the superior astronomical knowledge which had gone to the making of the Calendar<sup>3</sup>. Where the fundamental dates of the Calendar were false, the details could only be right by chance. But the errors did not matter. The farmer found the season of the year from the Calendar, not by observation, and having no need to test the accuracy of his calendar continued to believe it. Even as late as the fifteenth century almanacks still gave Caesar's dates for the entrance of the sun into the different signs. An error of five days had sunk to zero and risen again to six days on the other side, and if our calendar no longer presents astronomical errors, the name and date of Midsummer Day, and the position of the Christian festivals of Christmas and Lady Day, are a permanent memorial of the errors made by Caesar's advisers in fixing the dates of solstices and equi-

<sup>1</sup> See Petavius, *Diss. de Ort. et Occ. Sid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Caesaris* 59.

<sup>3</sup> Risings of Lyra are scattered over the whole year in Caesar's Calendar,

many of them being several months out. There ought of course to be only one morning and one evening rising in the year.

noxes. There is a question, which we have not sufficient evidence to answer, whether the Julian Calendar was introduced on the 1st of January or on the 1st of March, 45 B.C. In either case the date selected for the new year may have been governed by the moon. There was a new moon on the 2nd of January, 45 B.C., which Caesar may have calculated for the 1st, and there was another new moon on the 1st of March.

Whether this theory of the formation of the Julian Calendar will win acceptance I cannot say, but I should like to call attention for a moment to the effect it should have on our view of the ancient astronomers. My argument implies that there was less difference in theory, but more confusion in the application of theory, among these astronomers than has hitherto been supposed; and I think it will also follow that Caesar's dates for astronomical events are not worthy of any attention for periods before the formation of the Calendar, whereas references to such events by writers actually using that Calendar are probably to be interpreted not in the light of astronomical calculations, but in that of the Julian dates which had superseded observation.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

## THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

The present paper will be confined to the technical side of the chronology with which alone I feel competent to deal, i.e. with that side which turns on calendars and on the relation of calendars to astronomical phenomena. Questions of the relative authority of St John and the Synoptists, of the duration of our Lord's ministry, of the date when it commenced, of His age either at the commencement or at the close of His ministry I leave to professed theologians. To me all these questions appear insoluble in the present state of our knowledge; whereas for the direct question of the date of the Crucifixion we have some technical evidence, which, even if not quite conclusive, is well worth considering.

. For the whole question of the date of the Crucifixion, considered as a problem both of historical and of technical chronology, Mr Turner's article on Chronology (New Testament) in Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible," is the *locus classicus*<sup>1</sup>. Keim's treatment of the question is more exhaustive, but Mr Turner's article holds the field at the present moment, and his conclusions have been accepted by Canon Sanday in his article on Jesus Christ in the same Dictionary.

We know from the Gospels that Christ was crucified on Friday, the 14th or 15th of Nisan, when Pontius Pilate was present as governor at Jerusalem and Caiaphas was high priest. Mr Turner infers from these data that the Crucifixion cannot have been earlier than A.D. 28 or later than A.D. 33. To remove all doubt, I will add the years 34 and 35, which many scholars have regarded as possible. The question for technical chronology

<sup>1</sup> See also Mr Turner's shorter, but more recent article on Chronology, Biblical, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, tenth edition, vol. xxvii.

to decide is:—In which, if any, of the years 28–35 did Nisan 14 or Nisan 15 fall on a Friday? This involves a consideration of the Jewish Calendar. That calendar belongs to the class which we are accustomed to call luni-solar, i.e. it attempts at once to make each calendar month begin at the new moon and to make each calendar year begin at a particular season. Since neither the number of days in the lunar month nor the number of lunar months in the solar year is an integer, it follows that the number of days in the month and of months in the year in such a calendar must both be variable. The month therefore is made to consist of a fixed number of 29 days with a possible 30th day, and the year to consist of a fixed number of 12 months with a possible 13th month. We are thus presented with two problems: (1) At what exact point in the moon's course did the calendar month begin, and what rule determined the intercalation of a 30th day? (2) At what exact point in the sun's course did the calendar year begin, and what rule determined the intercalation of a 13th month?

(1) I take the former of these questions first. The beginning of the lunar month is a chronological moment which can be directly obtained by empirical methods available both to the learned and to the unlearned. The result is that with the single exception of the Roman, no calendar which professed to take the moon for its guide, has allowed the beginning of the calendar month to stray more than a day or two from its theoretical position in relation to the astronomical new moon. But as the date of the Crucifixion depends on the coincidence of a particular day of the week with a particular day of the lunar month, this difference of a day or two is all important. Now the simplest and oldest method of fixing the beginning of a calendar month is by observation of the moon. For a short time on either side of its conjunction with the sun the moon is invisible to the naked eye. The reappearance of the crescent in the evening sky is the first visible sign that a new moon has begun to wax, and this event was taken by almost all nations as marking the beginning of a new calendar month. In time, however, most nations substituted for the observed date of the *phasis* or first appearance of the crescent, a calculated date

either for the phasis or for the astronomical new moon, that is, for the actual but invisible conjunction between sun and moon. The first question therefore for us to determine is whether the first century Jews had abandoned empirical methods for calculations.

All our documentary evidence goes to show that no such change had taken place. Ignoring later authorities we have quite a mass of evidence in the Mishna which proves that empirical methods only were in use not only when the Temple was standing, but even when the Mishna itself was compiled. See the passages cited in Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Eng. Tr. I. ii. pp. 363—377, and the whole tract *Rosh hashana*. If anyone thinks that these rules are a mere archaism on the part of the Rabbis who composed these tracts, let him compare the differences they indicate between the methods in use in the time of the second Temple, and the methods in use in their own day. Both in the case of the intercalary month and of the intercalary day the methods they cite as in use in their own day would make the date or name of the new month more difficult to anticipate than those they cite as in use while the Temple was still standing. One rule they give is as follows. No month was to have less than twenty-nine or more than thirty days, and in *Arachin* ii. 2 we are told that there had never been more than eight or less than four months of thirty days in one year. The effect of this would be that observation would only be necessary on the evening at the close of the twenty-ninth day. If the moon were visible that evening there would be a thirtieth day; if it were invisible there would not. If the appearance was reported to the Sanhedrim and sufficiently attested by a fixed time on the following afternoon the new month was begun. Otherwise a thirtieth day was added to the old month and a new month begun on the following evening. It will be observed that cloudy weather could not postpone the beginning of a new month by more than one day.

Mr Turner and Professor Ramsay<sup>1</sup> incline to believe that some definite calendar rules were already in use in the first

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor*, Fifth Series, vol. x, pp. 431, 432.

century. The chief reason for believing that a calendar in which dates could be calculated beforehand had been substituted for one in which they rested on observation is the practical inconvenience of the older system : but against this it may be alleged that an oriental people is too dilatory to feel any inconvenience in having its arrangement altered by one day. Professor Ramsay, who dates the change about 50 A.D., supports it by the calendar reforms of which he has found evidence all over Western Asia. But, as he himself admits, the new calendars are all of one type ; they are all solar calendars, in which each year contains 365 days with an extra day every fourth year, and their months are purely artificial. If this movement had affected the Jewish Calendar, it would not have substituted calculations of new moon for observations of the phasis, it would have ignored both new moon and phasis altogether. The fact that the Jewish Calendar remained luni-solar proves that it was not affected by this movement.

Attention has been drawn to the supposed attacks on the old Jewish Calendar, to be found in the apocryphal literature of this age. The attack in the Book of Jubilees is directed not against an empirical as opposed to a calculable luni-solar calendar, but against the luni-solar calendar itself with its intercalary month : but the value of the Book of Jubilees for this question will be greatly lessened if Professor Charles is right in dating it in the second century B.C. The Books of Enoch describe the motion of sun and moon through the zodiac, and mention cycles compiled out of their respective periods, but do not suggest any calendar reforms. The cycles mentioned are good evidence of the astronomical knowledge of the time, but there is no evidence for an authoritative calendar based on them.

Mr Turner goes the length of suggesting one specific calendar rule which is, as will appear, essential to his date for the Crucifixion, viz. that Adar never consisted of more than 29 days. Even if such a rule existed for any month, it would hardly be likely to exist for Adar, because it would be important that the Passover should be observed on the correct astronomical day. In the same way the Turks and Arabs, although they possess a calendar, nevertheless fix the com-

mencement of the fast of Ramadan by observation (Ideler, I. 477, 568), and we learn from the tract *Rosh hashana* (i. 3, 4) in the Mishna that Nisan was one of the six months the commencement of which was still announced by messengers from Jamnia after the Fall of Jerusalem. Even when the Mishna was compiled it was one of the two months in which the witnesses, coming with the news of the new moon, were allowed to profane the sabbath, and we are told that during the existence of the Temple it had been lawful to profane the sabbath for any month. A relic of the former uncertainty as to the length of Adar remains in the double celebration of the Jewish Passover, on Nisan 15 and Nisan 16, the latter date representing the day which would have been Nisan 15 if Adar had comprised 30 days<sup>1</sup>. This double celebration is supposed to have originated among the Jews of the dispersion, and to have aimed at making it certain that one celebration or other should be on the day adopted at Jerusalem. The nearer Jews, those namely of Palestine and Babylon, were according to *Rosh hashana* (ii. 4) informed by beacons of the inauguration of the new month at Jerusalem, which would have been unnecessary if the day could have been calculated by a calendar rule.

There is no sufficient reason for setting aside the only documentary evidence that we possess on the determining of the commencement of a new month by the Jews. The next question is how are we to calculate the phasis on which the date of the new moon depended? The visibility of the moon depends partly on its angular distance from the sun, on which its apparent size depends, and partly on its altitude above the horizon when the sun's light is faint. In order to calculate the true date of the phasis we ought to have a table of the requisite depression of the sun below the horizon at moonset, or of the requisite altitude of the moon above the horizon at sunset at different angular distances of the moon from the sun and we could be sure that the moon would become visible on the first fine evening after the altitude or depression had reached the quantity required by the angular distance of the moon from the sun. These figures would differ slightly for

<sup>1</sup> Ideler, I. 514.

different places according to differences in climate. Unfortunately no such figures are forthcoming, and until they are supplied us we must be content with something more vague. Most calculators have been content to quote a mean interval which must elapse after the conjunction before the angular distance of the moon from the sun is sufficient to make it possible to observe the moon at the following sunset. Wurm, Turner, and Bacon have all adopted this method. If the interval in question were anywhere near a constant, a reliance on its mean value would be sufficient for our purpose. Unfortunately, however, it varies by about three days according to the position of the moon in her orbit, quite apart from any considerations of weather, or of the interval that must elapse after the moon has gained the requisite position and before the next sunset; and a difference of three days is quite enough to upset any calculations based on a correspondence between the days of the month and the days of the week. It is necessary therefore to throw aside all existing calculations of the phasis, and make new calculations which will take sufficient account of the astronomical circumstances which occasion this difference. These circumstances are three in number, the longitude, the latitude, and the anomaly of the moon. If the new moon takes place near the vernal equinox, each movement of the moon in right ascension will be accompanied by a rapid increase in its north declination or diminution in its south declination; the interval between sunset and moonset is increased to an observer in the northern hemisphere by the change in the moon's declination as well as by the change in its right ascension, and we have what are called long settings, and the moon is consequently in a position for observation sooner than it would otherwise be. Contrariwise if the new moon takes place near the autumnal equinox we have short settings and the phasis is retarded. Similarly, if the moon is some distance north of the sun at the time of new moon there will be a tendency towards an early phasis; if it be some distance south of the sun there will be a tendency towards a late phasis. If, again, the moon is near perigee it will move quickly: its right ascension and time of setting will

advance rapidly, and there will be a tendency towards an early phasis; if it is near apogee, it will move slowly, and there will be a tendency towards a late phasis. In default of a table such as I have suggested above, I have fallen back on Hevelius's rules, which are the result of his own observations at Gedanum in Poland, and may be seen in his *Selenographia*, p. 273 and following. He found that if all these circumstances were favourable, the moon, if new in the morning, would be visible in fine weather the same evening, if new in the afternoon or evening it would be visible the following evening. If two circumstances only were favourable, the phasis would be delayed one day, if one only were favourable, it would be delayed two days; if all three were unfavourable, it would be delayed three days; always presupposing fine weather. No important modification need be made for the latitude of Jerusalem. The influence of the latitude and longitude of the moon in either hastening or retarding the phasis ought to be slightly reduced, but as these two influences work in opposite directions at nearly all the new moons which I shall have to consider<sup>1</sup>, I may take it that the necessary corrections will be destructive of one another. As the rule is a vague one, I shall, wherever there appears to be any doubt as to its conclusion consider the day before or after (as the case may be) the one obtainable by the rule given above<sup>2</sup>.

In the following tables I give (1) the date of the astronomical new moon, (2) the mean anomaly of the moon in centesimal degrees, (3) the longitude of the ascending node in centesimal degrees, all calculated with the assistance of Oppol-

<sup>1</sup> The year 35 is the only case where these two causes work in the same direction. There they both work in favour of an early phasis, but the early phasis is so decidedly supported that it would seem impossible to fix a later date on account of mere difference in latitude.

<sup>2</sup> Since this article was written, Mr C. H. Thomson has communicated to me two observations of new moons, made at Damascus. The new moon

of 11.48 p.m., December 29, 1902, was visible on December 31, the date that Hevelius's rule would give, and the new moon of 3.49 a.m., March 29, 1903, was visible the same evening, one day earlier than the date that the rule would give. It will be observed that the two intervals between new moon and phasis differ by more than 24 hours, so that it is dangerous to employ a mean value for this interval.

zer's Syzygientafeln, empirical corrections being ignored, (4) the probable dates of the first appearance or phasis of the new moons of Nisan and of the preceding month during the years in question. In the case of the year 29, I give two alternative dates for Nisan out of deference to Mr Turner's opinion. In the case of the new moons of Nisan, I have added the consequent date of Nisan 14.

| A.D. | Ast. New Moon. | Longitude of |      |         | Ast. New Moon. | Longitude of |      |        | Nisan 14  |
|------|----------------|--------------|------|---------|----------------|--------------|------|--------|-----------|
|      |                | M.A.         | A.N. | Phasis. |                | M.A.         | A.N. | Phasis |           |
| 28   | 14 F., 9 a.m.  | 218          | 116  | 16 F.   | 15 M., 2 a.m.  | 217          | 114  | 17 M.  | W. 31 M.  |
| 29   | 2 F., 9 a.m.   | 162          | 95   | 4 F.    | 4 M., 3 a.m.   | 191          | 93   | 6 M.   | Su. 20 M. |
|      |                |              |      |         | 2 A., 8 p.m.   | 220          | 92   | 5 A.   | Tu. 19 A. |
| 30   | 21 F., 5 a.m.  | 135          | 73   | 23 F.   | 22 M., 8 p.m.  | 164          | 71   | 25 M.  | Sa. 8 A.  |
| 31   | 11 F., 0 a.m.  | 79           | 52   | 12 F.   | 12 M., 1 a.m.  | 108          | 50   | 14 M.  | W. 28 M.  |
| 32   | 29 F., 1 p.m.  | 52           | 29   | 2 M.    | 29 M., 11 p.m. | 81           | 27   | 31 M.  | M. 14 A.  |
| 33   | 18 F., 5 a.m.  | 396          | 8    | 19 F.   | 19 M., 1 p.m.  | 25           | 7    | 21 M.  | Sa. 4 A.  |
| 34   | 7 F., 8 p.m.   | 340          | 387  | 9 F.    | 9 M., 6 a.m.   | 369          | 386  | 10 M.  | W. 24 M.  |
| 35   | 26 F., 8 p.m.  | 313          | 365  | 28 F.   | 28 M., 6 a.m.  | 342          | 363  | 29 M.  | Tu. 12 A. |

As Nisan 14 does not in any of these years appear to fall on a Thursday or Friday, it will be necessary to review the results obtained by this rough rule, and find years when an alteration of the date would be possible. If bad weather delayed the phasis in Nisan of 34 by one day, that year will be possible if the date of the Synoptists, Nisan 15, is right. Bad weather at the beginning of Nisan in 28 or 31 would not render these dates possible, unless the phasis of Adar had also been delayed, because the limit of 30 days for the length of that month would prevent a delay in the inauguration of Nisan. But if bad weather prevented the early visibility of the moon in both months, which is quite conceivable at this season of the year, the two dates in question become consistent with the Synoptists' date. For St John's date (Nisan 14) 30 and 33 are the only promising years. In the case of 30 the conditions are so pronouncedly in favour of a late phasis that it would be difficult to adopt an earlier date than that assigned above<sup>1</sup>, but in the case of 33 the moon, if invisible on the evening of March 20,

<sup>1</sup> It would be more difficult to suppose an earlier phasis in this case than in the case of March 29, 1903.

But, until we have more local observations to work upon, this date should be regarded as possible.

was only just invisible. It is a case where precise calculations are impossible, since the conditions of visibility are greatly affected by local circumstances, and in the absence of modern observations on the spot, the most that can be said is that it is astronomically slightly more probable that the crescent would not be visible till March 21. Since, however, the Sanhedrim was content with an observation by any two competent witnesses, an appearance which was generally just invisible might well be visible to two favourably situated witnesses, and would thus obtain sufficient legal evidence for the inauguration of a new month. This being so, A.D. 33 is the most likely date for the Crucifixion, if, as is generally supposed, it took place on Nisan 14, and if the beginning of the new month was fixed by observation, subject only to the rules mentioned above. I hope to show hereafter that the evidence of Jewish tradition is all against the existence of any more rigid rules.

(2) In answer to the second question raised above (p. 101) Mr Turner holds that a calendar rule must have existed, in order to enable strangers to visit Jerusalem at the right season for the Passover. This, however, would not be the case if adequate notice were given of each intercalation, and it is clear from *Edujoth* vii. 7 that down to the time of Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Papias early in the second century no intercalation could be made, unless it had been ordered by the Sanhedrim before the Feast of Purim (Adar or Veadar 14), so that the date of the Passover would be known, with a possible error of one day, at least a month beforehand. This would be quite sufficient for the majority of the Jews of the dispersion, while a Jew who had made a very long journey to Jerusalem would not be likely to complain at having to wait a month for the feast. It was only after the destruction of the Temple that this long notice of the intercalation came to be thought unnecessary. We have moreover several references in the Mishna and Tosephta to deliberations in the Sanhedrim as to whether an intercalation should be made, and even to a provisional order for an intercalation, because Rabban Gamaliel could not be present when it was necessary to come to a decision. It would therefore appear that there was no possibility of calculating

the intercalations with certainty, but that the subject was discussed in the Sanhedrim whenever an elder considered an intercalation necessary.

Mr Turner finds a calendar rule governing intercalations in the well-known Christian rule by which the paschal full moon is that immediately following the spring equinox, and quotes Philo and Anatolius to prove that this rule was in use before the Christian era. As Philo is one of the authorities to whom reference is made by Anatolius, it will be unnecessary to consider his statements separately. Anatolius, as quoted by Eusebius, H. E. vii. 32, is arguing against those who place the first month in the last sign of the zodiac. He enumerates Philo, Josephus, Musaeus, the two Agathobuli, and Aristobulus as having stated that the Passover must be sacrificed after the spring equinox, and also refers to Enoch as evidence that the first Hebrew month was at the time of the equinox. This last reference we cannot verify, but a comparison of passages in Philo and Josephus will enable us to estimate at its true value the list of authorities quoted for the more definite statement.

The passages of Philo most directly to the point are *De Mose*, ii. 169 (Mangey), where he tells us nothing more definite than that Moses placed the first month at the beginning of the spring equinox; *De Decalogo*, ii. 206, where he tells us that Moses placed the two feasts of seven days each, the one at the spring equinox, the other at the autumn equinox; and *De Septenario*, ii. 293, where a coincidence between the spring equinox and the month of Nisan is implied. These passages prove nothing more than a general coincidence of the season of Nisan and the Passover with that of the spring equinox.

The passage in Josephus which Anatolius had in his mind is probably *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, where we read *τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ, ὅς Νισάν παρ' ἡμῶν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τισσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην, ἐν κριῶ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος...καὶ τὴν θυσίαν...Πασχα λεγομένην δι' ἔτους ἐκίστου θύειν ἐνόμισε.* The phrase *κατὰ σελήνην* here does not of itself prove that the new moon was found by observation, rather than by calendar; it is probably used to distinguish the lunar month of Xanthicus from the solar months of the

same name, current in different parts of Syria in Josephus's day. Nor again is it right to press the phrase *ἐν κριῶ*, though this is probably what Anatolius did. Josephus has, according to his wont, specified the date according to the Jewish Calendar with the Macedonian month-names<sup>1</sup>, and he adds the date according to the signs of the zodiac, which represent the season of the year; the latter coincidence is of no more importance to him than the former. It is clear, however, from the dates given in the *Almagest* (see Ideler, I. 396) that the strictly Macedonian Xanthicus might be nearly over before the sun entered Aries, and it is therefore at least probable that it often corresponded with the Hebrew Veadar; it would therefore appear reasonable to regard the phrase *ἐν κριῶ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος* as merely indicating the normal position of the sun at the Feast of Passover, without defining any rule on the subject.

If therefore Philo and Josephus prove nothing but a general coincidence, have we any reason for supposing that Musaeus and the Agathobuli said anything more definite? The case of Aristobulus is clearer. Anatolius's statement about his view is so circumstantial that he must certainly have held that the true date for the Passover was after the spring equinox. But this after all is only the opinion of a rabbi, and, while it seems quite clear that the coincidence of the spring equinox and the position of the sun in the sign of Aries with the month of Nisan and the Passover was recognised, we have no evidence of a definite rule on the subject. From the passages quoted by Schürer (*op. cit.* I. ii. 371, note) we can see that other considerations besides the course of the sun were still considered in the time of Gamaliel II., though first the Christians and then the Jews were compelled to ignore these less calculable items, when there was no longer a court to pronounce upon them. At all events the Jews of the times of Anatolius and Chryso-

<sup>1</sup> There were a great many calendars in use in Syria and Palestine, all employing the same series of month names and often (or always) having both Semitic and Macedonian names.

They differ widely as to the date when a particular month began, but agree in their identifications of Semitic with Macedonian names.

stom (or pseudo-Chrysostom)<sup>1</sup> did sometimes celebrate Passover before the spring equinox, and the modern Jewish Calendar is so constructed that for some centuries after it was framed Passover must often have fallen before the true equinox, and may still fall before the Tekupha of Nisan, which the calendar reformers probably regarded as the true date of the spring equinox<sup>2</sup>.

But this does not render it unlikely that some empirical rule was employed by the Sanhedrim as a practical guide in determining intercalations. Simple observation was sufficient to determine whether an intercalary day was required at the end of the month, but a much more complicated observation would be required to determine whether some annual event such as the vernal equinox would or would not take place before the fourteenth day of the next month. By far the simplest way of fixing the Passover to a particular season of the year would be by means of a cycle of intercalations, such as had been in use among all the nations that had adopted the Syro-Macedonian Calendar. The testimony of the Pirke Rabbi Eliezer is not sufficient evidence to prove that the cycle of seven intercalations in nineteen years was actually employed at this date. When, however, we find in the Slavonic Enoch, xvi. 5—8, a description of the lunar year and of the nineteen years' cycle, we may infer that the Jews of the first century A.D. knew of this cycle as astronomically valid, in which case it is highly probable that it was allowed to influence the actual calendar. This view is confirmed by an analysis of the elements of the modern Jewish Calendar. Here we find elaborate rules for the duration of each month, the mean length of the calendar month being as correct as modern

<sup>1</sup> See also Const. Apo. v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> We may contrast with the opinion of Aristobulus the rule laid down in the Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, chapter 7, as quoted by Morinus (Exerc. 1 in Pent. Sam. p. 51), according to which the question of intercalation was to be considered if the Tekupha (i.e. the winter solstice) fell on Tebeth 20 or later, from which it would follow that

the equinox might fall as late as Nisan 23. Maimonides regards Nisan 15 as the latest date for the equinox under the old calendar. According to Wurm in Bengel's *Archiv für die Theologie*, ii. 264, the ears of corn which had to be offered on Nisan 16 would seldom be ripe before the middle of April.

astronomy can make it, while for the duration of the year no more elaborate contrivance exists than the simple rule that there shall be twelve months in ordinary years, and a thirteenth month in seven particular years of a nineteen years' cycle. The result is that the mean calendar year of the Jews agrees neither with the dog-star year of 365 days, 6 hours, by which the Tekuphas are still computed, and which was in general use at the time of the Jewish Calendar reform, nor yet with the equinoctial year of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 48 seconds, which forms the basis of our calendar. The obvious inference from these facts is that the calendar reform was only intended to affect the duration of lunations; it may have substituted calendar rules for simple observation in this respect, and have left untouched the old calendar rule, governing intercalary months, which had caused no dissatisfaction. If we apply the existing nineteen years' cycle to the period before the calendar reform, we shall find for the age of Anatolius and Chrysostom (or pseudo-Chrysostom) those occasional Passovers before the vernal equinox which aroused their wrath, as inconsistent with their views of the true Paschal term, and we shall find for the years 28-35 the same dates for Nisan as I have adopted above. In the year 29, for which I have given alternative dates, the nineteen years' cycle would support the later.

Mr Turner attempts to explain the early Passovers mentioned by Anatolius and "Chrysostom" by the ingenious suggestion that the Jews dated the equinox earlier than their Christian contemporaries, and supports this by a statement that the farther back the Church's Paschal calculations can be traced, the earlier does the equinox appear to have been set. Anyone acquainted with the difference between the Julian and tropical years will know that the farther back we go the later will the true equinox fall in the Julian year. It was in fact this apparent discrepancy that first led me to make a closer study of Mr Turner's whole article. A little examination will show that the dates he gives do not really form a series. A Christian father might obtain the date of the equinox or of the entrance of the sun into Aries in one or other of two ways; he might adopt the fixed date given in an almanack adapted to

a solar calendar, or he might rely on observation. Where the Julian Calendar was in use, the Paschal calculations are all based either, as at Rome, on the date March 18, which is the date of the entrance of the sun into Aries according to the Roman almanacks, or, as in Gaul in the second century (if we may believe the Magdeburg centuriators), in Cappadocia before the time of Epiphanius, and in Britain and Ireland as late as the eighth century, on the date March 25, which is the date of the spring equinox according to the same almanacks. Anatolius's date, Phamenoth 24 (= March 19), the Alexandrian date, Phamenoth 26 (= March 21), the date Dystrus (i.e. March) 22 of the Apostolical Constitutions, and the date Dystrus 23 of Aetius are all dates based on observation, and not one of these dates need be more than a day out for the time when the observation was made. As Ptolemy himself was capable of making an error of one day in dating the spring equinox, such an error need not trouble us, but an error of several days in a date obtained by observation would be almost impossible, and no serious error is found as a matter of fact, except where the Julian Calendar was in use. At the time of the Crucifixion the true date for the spring equinox was March 22 or 23, so that Mr Turner's theory that the equinox was dated March 18 or earlier would compel us to suppose that the Jews had dated it about five days too early.

In another paper I have endeavoured to show the true source of the erroneous dates given in the Julian Calendar for the entrance of the sun into Aries and for the equinox. They are in fact due to an error made by Sosigenes when constructing the Julian Calendar: they are the result of miscalculation not of bad observation, and are not found in the countries where other calendars were in use. It is indeed impossible for such an error to be made where a lunar calendar is the only one in use. In that case the fixed date of the spring equinox cannot be referred to a calendar date, but only to some other astronomical event from which it is supposed to be separated by a fixed interval. Such an event might be the annual rising or setting of a fixed star or it might be the position of the sun in a particular part of the heavens, or a point in the sun's course,

as indicated by the length of the shadow on a dial at noon. The date when the equinox was expected would in this way depend on some previous observation, possibly that of the winter solstice<sup>1</sup>, and the interval would be discovered by observation and handed down by tradition. If the previous observation were of an annual rising or setting, the interval before the equinox would, owing to precession, be steadily diminishing, so that the equinox would have a tendency to fall earlier than was expected, but if the observation were of the position of the sun, the interval would be almost constant, and the equinox would fall at or very near the anticipated date. It is incredible that it could have fallen much later. A further argument, against an early date for the equinox, may be found in the modern Jewish date for the Nisan tekupha, viz. March 25, which must obviously have been taken from the Roman Calendar after the dispersion, and which is hardly likely to have supplanted an earlier and truer date referred to a similar calendar, which has left no trace in Jewish tradition.

It would appear therefore that there was no such fixed rule for the date of Nisan as Mr Turner supposes, and that early Nisans cannot be explained by an anticipation of the date of the equinox. Nor again does there appear to be any evidence in favour of Baron von Soden's view that there was never an intercalation in a sabbatical year. We can, however, be moderately certain that the full moons given above were those of Nisan, because in every case except that of 29 A.D. the full moon appears to fall well within the normal range of Nisan 14, so that any other date would place Nisan very early or very late.

I will now deal with Mr Turner's argument, as accepted by Canon Sanday, in favour of the claim of the new moon of March 4, 29 A.D., to be the new moon of the Nisan in which Christ suffered. The vague rule by which Nisan corresponded with the first sign of the zodiac does not seem to tell strongly against it, and even if it did, the astronomical reason for an intercalation need not have been deemed sufficient unless supported by the unripeness of the grain or of the fruit trees or

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra* p. 111, note 2.

by some similar reason (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. ii. p. 371, Morinus, *loc. cit.*). It is therefore not impossible that this was the new moon of Nisan, but for Nisan 14 to fall on a Friday it would be necessary for the new month to begin on the evening of March 4. But the moon could only be visible that evening under the most favourable astronomical conditions, and it will be observed from the table above that the conditions were as unfavourable as they possibly could be for that season of the year. The moon when new was very near apogee which it was still approaching; it would therefore move at its slowest rate away from the sun. Again, in respect of latitude it had almost reached its southern limit, and was still travelling south. This would place it as low on the horizon as was consistent with its longitude, and would cause it to set before the light of the sun had faded sufficiently to render it visible. It is in fact very unlikely that the moon would be visible even on the following evening. Mr Turner attempts to meet this difficulty by the supposition that a calendar rule existed in virtue of which Adar never consisted of more than 29 days; this theory I have already attempted to refute. But even if the limitation of Adar to 29 days could be as old as the time of Christ, Mr Turner's date would still be beset with difficulties, because the easiest date for the phasis of Adar in A.D. 29 is February 4, so that this rule would give the evening of March 5 for the beginning of Nisan, and Saturday, March 19, for Nisan 14. Whatever date therefore be astronomically possible, 29 appears to be impossible.

By far the strongest part of Mr Turner's case is to be found in the mass of patristic evidence which he adduces on behalf of A.D. 29, and no astronomical difficulties in the way of this date could be quite conclusive unless accompanied by some explanation of its origin. The only authority whom he quotes in this connexion of whom I need make any special mention is one whose evidence would, if it had any value, tell in favour of 33, namely, the heathen chronologist Phlegon. That there was no eclipse in 33 corresponding to Phlegon's description is certain, and it is therefore certain that Phlegon must be in error, but the easiest correction is that suggested by Kepler (*Eclog. chron.*

1615, p. 126), though afterwards abandoned by him. This is to suppose that Phlegon refers to the eclipse of the sun of November 24, 29 A.D., which, according to the latest astronomical tables (Ginzell, *Spezieller Kanon*, 1899) was total in Nicaea and Bithynia, the district, that is, with which Phlegon connects the accompanying earthquake, and which attained its greatest phase at Nicaea at 10.46 a.m., and in the rest of Bithynia a little later, and must therefore have ended almost exactly at noon, the hour at which Phlegon fixes it. A further refinement in lunar theory might slightly shift both the belt of totality and the hour of the eclipse, but could not materially affect the applicability of the passage in Phlegon to the eclipse in question.

It will be most convenient to keep the question of the year of the Crucifixion and that of the day of the civil month together. No special chronological knowledge would be necessary for an early Christian computer to discover in what years a particular Julian date fell on a Friday, or what Julian dates fell on a Friday in a particular year. The balance of tradition is decidedly in favour of 29 A.D., and also in favour of March 25, and it may be observed that the earliest authorities quoted for these two dates are the same, 'Tertullian,' Hippolytus, and the Acts of Pilate. Of these 'Tertullian' and Hippolytus represent a western tradition which reckons its dates by the Julian Calendar and its years by the names of consuls. The Acts of Pilate may be of Palestinian origin, but its use of the Julian Calendar and consular dating suggests that this date is obtained from a western source. In addition to the authorities mentioned by Mr Turner, Mr Conybeare has called my attention to the practice of the Churches of Gaul, who, if we may trust the Magdeburg centuriators (*Cent. II.* 118, 56), celebrated the Pascha as a fixed festival on March 25 as being the date of the Crucifixion, just as they celebrated the nativity on December 25, and not on a corresponding lunar date<sup>1</sup>. The alternative reading, March 18, in the Acts of Pilate, which Mr Turner regards as the more authentic, should, if genuine, be derived

<sup>1</sup> Kepler (*op. cit.* p. 117) quotes Epiphanius for a similar practice among the Cappadocians.

from a western source. March 18 and March 25 are, as we have seen, the dates assigned in the Roman almanacks to the entrance of the sun into Aries and to the spring equinox respectively. A modern might overlook that fact. To an ancient it would probably be the most direct association that those dates possessed. The desire to know the true anniversary of the Crucifixion would probably be strong in the early Church, and the date preserved by tradition is just such a date as we might expect the Church to find. The nativity was, as is well known, celebrated on the "*Natalis invicti solis*" of the Roman Calendar, the Julian date for the winter solstice, our December 25. A rival date had arisen in Egypt, where another calendar was in use, but eventually a compromise was arrived at. Even if there had been no evidence to guide the Church to the date of the Crucifixion, what would have been more natural than to fix it at one of the four cardinal points of the year, and which of these was possible except the spring equinox, which the Roman almanacks dated March 25? But there was stronger evidence for this date. The Crucifixion was known to have been at the season of the Passover, and the chronological rule recognised by Philo which the Christians must themselves have applied to the feast of Easter, viz. that the season of the Passover was that of the spring equinox or of the entrance of the sun into Aries, would at once suggest the Roman date for the equinox as the nearest possible approach to the Roman date for the Crucifixion. The moveable feast of the Pascha was however of too long standing to allow this date to develop into a fixed fast or feast of the Roman Calendar, but it could easily become the traditional date of the Crucifixion. The alternative date, March 18, to which the entrance of the sun into Aries was assigned, became, as we have seen above, the earliest Roman Paschal term, and may well have been an early Roman or Julian date for the Crucifixion.

Now 29 is the only year at all possible for the Crucifixion, in which March 18 or 25 fell on a Friday, and it would therefore be the most natural date for the Crucifixion for a Church using the Julian Calendar. Furthermore, although the date is older than any of the Easter Calendars, the fact that March 25

was the true date for Good Friday in the year 29 according to Hippolytus's cycle and also according to the 84 years' cycle which was afterwards adopted in Rome, would probably give this date a great advantage in argument over dates on which Good Friday could not possibly have fallen. The date A.D. 29 may of course have originated in the fifteenth year of Tiberius of Luke iii. 1, and the date March 25 (or 18) in the way I have indicated. They would easily coalesce.

This view of the origin of the traditional date is strengthened by a consideration of its rivals. The Basilidians were perhaps the first to compile a series of Christian anniversaries for different dates in the solar year. Assuming that they employed the Alexandrian Calendar, their dates for the Crucifixion would correspond to March 21, April 20, April 14. All these may have some connexion with '*dies aegyptiaci*' of Philocalus, but, what is of more importance, March 21, which Clement<sup>1</sup> mentions first, and which may therefore have been the prevailing date among the Basilidians, would be the true date for the spring equinox in the age of Basilides, and, as has been shown above, a serious error in the date of the equinox is not likely to have been made in Egypt. The other dates mentioned by Mr Turner, viz. March 23 and March 20, are probably both dates for the spring equinox, perhaps of Syrian and Egyptian origin respectively<sup>2</sup>, and it is significant that all the dates for the Crucifixion, with the exception of two of the Basilidian dates, are within the range of dates for the entrance of the sun into Aries or of the spring equinox. If they had a common origin in a date referred to the Roman Civil Calendar, it is difficult to explain why the errors in the tradition should all lie on the later side of March 18 or on the earlier side of March 25.

<sup>1</sup> Strom. i. 147.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 113 above.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

## E. B. COWELL.

PROFESSOR COWELL'S career, and his contributions to Oriental scholarship and learning, will have been recorded and estimated elsewhere by Oriental scholars. Meanwhile it has been thought that a few words on some less public aspects of a life and character worthy of all reverence and love might not be unwelcome here; and though he was the least describable of men, and the portrait in his College Hall says more than words can say, I am grateful to the Editors for inviting me, who was a brother-Fellow of Cowell eight and twenty years and had the privilege of his close friendship, to lay this little wreath upon his grave.

I was never his pupil, and yet was always his pupil; for it was as difficult to know him well without learning from him as without loving him. But not Socrates himself concealed better than Cowell the instructor's chair, even from his pupils proper; and he posed—no, he never posed,—he felt himself less the teacher than the fellow-learner and enquirer; nay sometimes, if he could, he would hail as the suggestion of another what was really his own. To be sure, unlike Socrates, he accepted fees; but his eager love of knowledge and of men would often give three hours' teaching for one hour's payment, and it was now and then the disciples and not the master who cried "Hold, enough!"—Truly, 'the labour that delighted him physic'd pain.' Almost half a century, I believe, his regular evening occupation was reading aloud; an unfailing pleasure to the listener and therefore to the reader. Spanish he had read of old with FitzGerald; and at Cambridge he read it with at least two other friends, and most kindly for years with me. At intervals now rarer now more frequent we went through in his house several plays of Calderon, and then the First Part of Don Quixote (our last reading was within a few days of his

last illness); and always he was the teacher and guide, though this never seemed to occur to him. How he loved the fine plots and the style of Calderon, and still more the humorous pathos of Cervantes! It was a double pleasure to watch and to share his delight in the nobly-phrased, stately method-in-madness of the Knight, in the unromantic comments, warnings, hopes and troubles of the Squire, in the housekeeper who scorned and burnt poor Amadis of Gaul and all the books of chivalry that had been the Don's undoing, in the scenes at the inn, in the genial Curate and the eloquent Canon,—but enough; and farewell, Don Quixote!—This Spanish reading may seem perhaps too private a circumstance to have been recorded here. Yet let me record, with an apology, a story more private still. Ten years ago a little girl of four presented the Professor with a bunch of aconites on his birthday, the 23rd of January; and received next morning, in a fair printed hand, a simple and beautiful quatrain of verse in return. Yearly since then, birthday aconites and verses were exchanged; and the last writing of his hand, before illness stayed it for ever, was the poem for this year's birthday;—a moving narrative, begun in January 1902, of how “the slumbering student in his heart” had been awakened in his earliest teens, and he had become the blissful owner of a many-volumed Livy and the newly-published *Corpus Poetarum*. I have ventured to instance those Spanish readings and these English poems, as good examples within my own knowledge of his all-embracing sympathy with older friends and younger, present and past, actual and imagined; of his quiet joy in books and in flowers, and of his gracious tenderness to children. (Those who knew him best have told me that in early days he was a willing and a winning teller of tales, and would compress a Waverley Novel or other famous story into a shape clear and fascinating to intelligent girls or boys.)

This large human affection and sympathy seem to have been indeed ‘the very pulse of the machine’; the root, the sap, the life of all he was and of all that his great powers achieved at Oxford, at Calcutta or at Cambridge. *humani nihil a se alienum putabat*. His heart set his mind to work, and wrought with it continually. And as literature was the business to which

he devoted, as learner and teacher, the work of his life, so good literature (for of course, like Charles Lamb, he had his Index of '*biblia a-biblia*'!) furnished the chief of his pure and simple recreations, and was the inseparable comrade of the others, of which travelling was one. In the later summer always, and often in spring, these journeys were a rest and refreshment to him and to his incomparable companion, during more than twenty of their Cambridge years. At first they went each summer to Wales, alone, or sometimes with their friends the Professor of Botany and Mrs Babington; later, Yorkshire or Cumberland or the Isle of Wight drew them, with a visit now and then to Sussex or Dorset, and one to Switzerland. In some of these tours geology was a main interest, in others architecture; and botany in all, ever since he began the study in earnest, attaining ere long a very considerable knowledge of classification and structure, and a warm affection for the plants and flowers. For many years too, the summer weeks in Wales or Yorkshire were followed by a shorter stay at Lowestoft (where he used to find the Roman nettle, now gone), to meet FitzGerald, who would bring his yacht up from the Deben and lodge near them. There they would pace the pier in various talk, watching the beautiful fishing-fleet pass in or out with the tide, or would cruise along the coast in the yacht, where the two friends read *inter alia* the whole of Sophocles (skipping the choruses, which plagued FitzGerald); and in the evenings, FitzGerald would come to their rooms by the garden-door, and sit in the dark (this was *de rigueur*) and discourse of all things in heaven and earth, but chiefly of books and of the Past. Sometimes too one of the Editors of this Journal, the intimate friend of Cowell and of FitzGerald, would come over from Beccles to join the company. Thus literature always with these travellers "*peregrinabatur, rusticabatur.*" In Wales Cowell learnt and read Welsh, and translated some of the poems of Ap Gwilym. I have too his fine renderings of some of Michelangelo's Sonnets, done mostly in these summer holidays; as were also the interesting and often charming translations from the Bengali poem *Candī*, which were published<sup>1</sup> happily before he died,

<sup>1</sup> By the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902.

twenty years or more after they were written and some of them read to me in the course of a flower-hunting walk. Such details are given to shew how his tastes and pursuits grew together from the root before-mentioned. May another instance be added? Babington's able and friendly help made him a botanist; but one persuasive influence was the chance discovery, in his reading, of the curious mutual adjustment between the sepals of the rose. Magazines he read often; and in a magazine-article on botany he found three monkish hexameters on the rose-sepals (printed, by the way, so inaccurately that he had the scholar's pleasure of restoring the text, but did not of course improve away the false quantity, for which the monks were answerable). As restored, the lines (spoken by the sepals) run thus:

Quinque sumus fratres sub eodem tempore nati;  
Sunt duo barbati, duo sunt sine barba creati,  
Unus barbatus sed barba dimidiatus.

The quaint verses and the beautiful phenomenon they describe helped to determine him for botany; and surely no one ever threw himself into it with keener scientific interest than he, shortsightedness not deterring. This study too had of course its literary side. He wrote four capital lines on the 'five dovelets of the columbine'; began a series of sonnets on the various flower-tribes, though only three or four were completed; and was never tired of making botanical mnemonics in verse, some brief and simple, others humorously elaborate, so that friends would laugh and say the facts were harder to remember with than without the Muse's aid. Many exploring walks and longer expeditions can never be forgotten. (Once in April he went from Cambridge to meet two friends in the New Forest and see the wild lungwort, far brighter than in gardens, flowering red and blue-purple in meadows and copses.) In these rambles he would talk as we went of the flowers, their haunts or names; how he had found one in the Honister Pass, one on Snowdon "with Babington," another at Scarborough or at Bonchurch, another nearer home; or how *periwinkle* e.g. is Latin, and he would send next day on a postcard the reference to Pliny's

*vinca pervinca*; and thence he would pass to their life in poetry,—in *Perdita's* lovely discourse perhaps, or in *Lycidas*, or in Shelley's *Dream of the Unknown* or Wordsworth's *Daffodils*; and thence to the wide field of books; and that would lead to old home-days or school, or to Oxford and Aristotle, or to India, for which he kept his affection fresh, or to his dear Cambridge work with devoted pupils, men and women, of successive generations and with not less loyal fellow-editors of various books, notably of the *Jataka*, that 'toil co-operant' which added so much happy interest to his later years. Throughout his talk there was 'high thinking,' worthy of his 'plain living'; and the concatenation of all was somehow sympathy.

I spoke of a *postcard*. Not to mention here his always interesting letters, he had an almost Gladstonian alacrity in writing postcards (but not political), to communicate anything new-found or remarkable, most often, but not only, about plants or books or both. Of many in my possession, may I quote two?—the first, to illustrate his carefulness in botanical (as in all) matters of fact, his Sanskrit and Latin memories, and his quiet humour; the second, his love of finding literary parallels. (1) We had been speaking of the tuberose, its shape and name; and he wrote (Aug. 19, 1884), "The 'tuberose' or 'tuber-rose' is properly *Polianthes tuberosa*; it is an East-Indian plant and called in Sanskrit *rajanī-gaudhā* 'night-scented.' Its name thus comes from its having a bulbous root, and so has no connection with *tuba*:—*Iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget!*" (2) We had been talking of the vivid picture that begins 'Who are these coming to the sacrifice?' in Keats's Ode on a Grecian Urn; and he wrote (Sept. 28, 1900): "Athenaeus quotes from Polycrates' description of the Hyacinthia in Sparta, *ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους· οὐδεὶς δ' ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θεάν.*

Athen. iv § 17.

'What little town by river or sea-shore  
Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel  
Is emptied of its folk this pious morn?'"

What shall one say more? To those who knew him only by sight as he moved along the street to the University Library or to some friend's rooms, though they could hardly fail to observe the nobility of his head, he may have appeared a shy and silent recluse, absorbed in Sanskrit Grammar. Shy he was certainly, and not apt to make the first move in speech; but let that move be made by an enquiring or sympathetic neighbour, and his talk, though in a voice never strong, would be free and friendly, full of information, suggestion, anecdote or experience. Nor, much as he loved his Sanskrit, was he *totus in illa*. No scholar was ever less of a pedant than he. He read his daily newspaper as regularly as his *Athenaeum*. He loved Greek and Latin (in which his scholarship was ripe and good), and Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and I know not how many tongues beside, as the vehicle of literature; and literature as the expression and treasure-house of human feeling, imagination, thought and knowledge. This last word reminds me how his heart and mind uttered themselves about knowledge shortly before he left us. Seldom I suppose was he seen impatient, (unless some report of cruelty or wrong made him indignant, 'an indignation which was promptly curbed';) but when, at his last College Meeting, a doubt was expressed whether an eminent Prelate, the founder of our chief Scholarships at Corpus, would care, could he know of it, to have Scholarships in Natural Science associated with his name, Cowell, silent till then, appealing to his friend our Chairman with a note of generous impatience in his voice, said eagerly: "Yes, *knowledge*, Master! in whatever form, Mawson would welcome *knowledge*!" Beyond his own threshold, these were almost his latest words.

The admirable purity and simplicity of nature, the self-forgetful devotion, the thoughtful liberality (to his grateful College, for instance), the wisdom, strength, gentleness, modesty, that drew to him the hearts of disciples and friends in East and West:—these qualities may be named, but there is no describing them, at all events the harmony of them that was found in Cowell. *εὐφρῆς, εὐηθῆς, εὐμενῆς*, in the highest sense was he. Nor may one dwell on that sacred companion-

ship of more than fifty years, which was the joy of his heart, and stimulated, aided, strengthened, cheered or solaced him, from even long before the day when "this delightful lady" as FitzGerald wrote "carried off her young husband to Oxford" almost to the day when 'death them did part.' Nor can one say much of that unaffected piety and steadfast faith, of which the presence was felt without words. But let me end by reverently quoting yet another postcard, which may throw a gleam of light on his affection and his faith, while it will remind us of his love of great writing once more. Just three months after his bereavement he wrote (Dec. 29, '99) "I send you a fine passage which I found in Augustine's *Confessions* IV 9 this morning: 'Solus enim nullum charum amittit cui omnes in illo chari sunt qui non amittitur. Et quis est iste nisi Deus noster, Deus qui fecit caelum et terram, et implet ea, quia implendo fecit ea?' It exactly expressed a feeling which had been dumbly struggling in my own mind lately." He regained ere long his tranquil cheerfulness; and, besides the higher consolation, found more and more to the last that it is *vivere bis, vita posse priore frui*.

---

Optime doctorum doctissime tuque bonorum,  
O pater, O dulcis frater, have atque vale!

C. W. M.

## THE HAMBURG STADTBIBLIOTHEK

### CODEx No. 1.

The MS. of which the following is a partial collation is No. 1 in Steinschneider's Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the *Stadtbibliothek* at Hamburg, and Codex 615 of the MSS. collated for Kennicott. The former dismisses it in less than five lines without even mentioning that it has the Chaldee, and the latter devotes to it five lines and a half. As this gives the Biblical student no idea whatever of its importance to Old Testament Palaeography or to the criticism of the text I here describe it more minutely.

This beautiful MS. which is written in a bold German hand circa A.D. 1350 consists of 333 folios and is imperfect. It contains (1) the Pentateuch imperfect with the Chaldee in alternate verses which in its present form occupies folios 1 *a*—264 *a*; (2) the Five Megilloth fol. 264 *b*—282 *a* in the following order; Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther; (3) the Haphtaroth fol. 282 *a*—319 *b* and (4) the Book of Job 320 *a*—333 *a*. The Pentateuch wants Gen. i 26 *b*—iii 17 *a*; xx 2—xxi 4; Numb. xxviii 55 *b*—xxxiv 24; Deut. ii 14—31; vii 12—xi 9; xxv 5—xxvi 3; xxvii 21—xxviii 14; xxxiii 2—19.

With the exception of the Song of Moses (Exod. xv 1—18) which is written according to an especially prescribed arrangement for which reason the Chaldee here is not in alternate verses with the Hebrew but is given separately at the end of the Song, each folio has two columns and each column has 30 lines. Both the text and the Chaldee are furnished with vowel-points and with the same accents. The Massorah Magna which occupies the upper and lower margins is distributed very

irregularly. Some folios have two lines of this corpus in the upper margin and three in the lower; some have one line and some have none. The Massorah Parva which is given in the outer margins and in the margins between the two columns is frequently very copious.

The letters.—One of the remarkable features of this MS. is that it exhibits throughout the text of the Pentateuch nearly all the Titled or Crowned letters, as well as the peculiarly shaped letters which are formulated in the celebrated *Machzor Vitry* and which I have printed in my edition of the Massorah in letter ת Rubric 25. They resemble the forms depicted in this Treatise and coincide in number more nearly than those in the MSS. of the Pentateuch of the Yemen School viz. Nos. 29, 30 and 31 which I have described in my *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* pp. 641 etc.

The Division of the Text.—The fifty-four annual Pericopes into which the text of the Pentateuch is divided are carefully indicated in the margin against each Pericope by the expression פֶּרֶשׁ, whilst the number of verses in each Pericope is given at the end of every one. These coincide with the *textus receptus*. The Open and Closed Sections into which the text is divided are carefully indicated in the vacant sectional spaces of the text. The Open Section is shown by פֶּתַח or by the full expression פתוחה in the vacant space; whilst the Closed Section is indicated by סָתַם or the fully written out סתומה. These however seriously deviate from the Received Text as will be seen from the following collation:

Genesis.—In this book the MS. omits seven Closed Sections (v 9, 12, 15, 18, 28; x 15, 21) and has seven Open Sections (iii 20; iv 5; v 3; vii 1; xxx 14; 22; xlix 3) which are not in the *textus receptus*. It moreover gives five as Open Sections (פֶּתַח) which are Closed (סָתַם) in the Received Text (v 25; ix 8; xxvi 34; xxvii 1; xli 28) and *vice versa* five Closed (סָתַם) which are Open (פֶּתַח) (xxi 22; xl 1; xli 1; xlix 8, 14).

Ten of the Open Sections are described as פֶּתַח אֶחָת (v. 3; vi 5; xxxv 9) or simply as פֶּתַח (v 6; x 1; xii 10; xviii 1; xxxv 22; xxxvi 9; xlix 27); whilst in three instances it is stated פתוחה בצד ימין (xxv 19; xxxii 4; xxxvi 1). In six

instances the vacant space has סדורה (viii 7; xv 1; xxiii 1; xxxv 1; xxxix 1; xlix 21). As the Open and Closed Sections are respectively denoted by פ' and ס' which invariably occupy the vacant space of these Sections the expression סדורה would naturally signify the Triennial Pericopes. Of these six however two only coincide with those given in my edition of the Bible (xv 1; xxxix 1). Hence if this expression is really designed to indicate the *Sedarim* we have here additional proof that the different Massoretic Schools followed different traditions with regard to these divisions.<sup>1</sup> Against the Open Sections in Gen. iv 8 b; xxxv 22, b is the remark פס' פסק' במצע indicating that there are eighteen such sectional breaks in the middle of the verse.<sup>2</sup>

Exodus.—In this book the MS. omits one Open Section only (vi 13). It has however seven new Open Sections (ii 11; viii 1; xiv 30; xxvi 7, 18; xxxii 33; xxxvii 6) and ten Closed Sections (xiii 15; xvi 6; xxii 18, 29; xxiii 2, 3; xxv 17; xxviii 23, 30; xxxii 30). It gives seven Open Sections (פ') as ס' = Closed (xiv 26; xvi 11; xxxiii 12; xxxiv 1, 27; xxxix 2, 33) and *vice versa* six as פ' = Open which are Closed in the Received Text (xxii 4; xxix 38; xxxv 1; xxxviii 1; xl 24, 28). Thirteen of the Open Sections are described as פתח שורה (iii 18; x 18; xii 21, 43; xiii 1, 8; xxii 24; xxxi 12; xxxii 7; xl 34) or as פ' שורה (ix 22; xv 1; xxvi 31). Moreover פ' שורה is four times against a Closed Section (vi 2; vii 14; xxii 9; xxvi 31), whilst פ' צר ימין is used in four instances against an Open Section (xxv 31; xxx 17; xxxiii 17; xxxv 4) and five times with regard to a Closed Section (xviii 6; xx 2, 19; xxxix 27; xl 33). The expression סדורה occurs in connection with fifteen sections (vii 1; x 1; xi 1; xxi 1; xxvi 15; xxxi 1, 18; xxxv 30; xxxvi 14, 20; xxxvii 1, 10; xxxix 30, 32; xl 30). Four, or perhaps five, of these only coincide with the *Sedarim* in my edition of the Bible viz. Exod. xi 1; xxi 1; xxxi 1; xxxvii 1; xxxix 32 or 33.

Leviticus.—In this book none of the Sections are omitted.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. my Introduction to the Hebrew Bible p. 32 etc.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. The Massorah, letter פ Rubrics 144—187 Vol II p. 449 ed. Ginsburg.

It has however three Open Sections (vii 22; x 13; xxv 14) and seven Closed Sections (v 7; x 9; xiii 33; xv 18; xvii 13; xxii 14; xxvi 18) which are not in the *textus receptus*. It gives six as פ = Open Sections which are ס = Closed (i 10; ii 1, 4, 7; v 14; vi 7) and *vice versa* three as ס = Closed which are פ = Open (iv 27; v 17, 20). It has פתח שורה in the vacant space of twelve Sections. Eleven of these are Open Sections (iii 12; iv 1; vii 1, 11; xiii 29; xvi 1; xvii 1; xix 1; xxii 17; xxiii 4, 9) and one Closed (xxiii 1). The expression סדורה is used twice (vi 1, 12) one of which only (vi 12) coincides with our *Seder*.

Numbers.—In this book also none of the Sections in the Received Text are omitted. The MS. however has four Open Sections (vi 13; vii 4; x 18; xv 4) and three Closed (x 22, 25; xxvii 18) which are not in the *textus receptus*. It moreover gives five as פ = Open Sections which are ס = Closed (ix 15; x 35; xvii 1; xviii 21; xxxi 25), and *vice versa* four as ס = Closed (vii 48; xv 32; xx 7; xxi 21) which are פ = Open in the Received Text. It is remarkable that neither פתח שורה nor סדורה occurs in connection with any of the Sections in this book.

Deuteronomy.—In this book also none of the Sections in the Received Text are omitted. The MS. however has four Closed Sections which are new (xviii 14; xxvii 20; xxxi 16; xxxiii 23). One Section is described as פ = Open (xxii 23) which is ס = Closed in our text. Neither פתח שורה nor סדורה occurs in connection with any of the Sections, but against both the Closed Sections in ii 8 *b* and v 18 is the remark י"ח פס' פסק במצע which as we have seen is the identical note on the Open Section in the middle of the verse in Gen. iv 8 *b*; xxxv 22 *b*.

The above analysis shows that (1) this Codex has 54 new Sections, of which 25 are Open and 29 Closed; that (2) in no fewer than 41 instances in which the MS. coincides with the breaks in the *textus receptus* the character of these Sections is the reverse i.e. 19 are expressly marked as (פ) Open which are (ס) Closed and *vice versa* 22 are as emphatically marked (ס) Closed which are (פ) Open and that (3) the MS. omits 8 Sections which are in the Received Text.

One of the remarkable features of this MS. is that it also indicates in the vacant spaces of the text in Canticles and the book of Esther the Open and Closed Sections by the insertion of פת' and סת'.

Canticles.—This book is divided into fifteen Sections. Six of these are Open and are duly marked פת' (i 9; ii 8; iii 9; v 2; viii 5, 8) and nine are marked סת' Closed (iii 1, 6; iv 8, 12; vi 4, 10; vii 8, 11, 13).

Esther is divided into fourteen Sections. Eight of these are marked פת' Open (i 9, 13, 16; ii 1, 21; iii 1, 8; vi 1) and six סת' (ii 5; iv 1; viii 1, 7; ix 29; x 1).

These variations in the Pentateuch and in the two of the Five Megilloth clearly show that the Sectional Divisions of the text are based upon a recension which obtained in a particular School of redactors and which is different from the *textus receptus*.

#### RAPHE AND DAGESH.

Not only are the aspirated letters (ב נ ר כ פ ת) uniformly denoted by *Raphe*, but all the other letters with the exception of the gutturals, whether at the beginning, middle, or at the end of a word are alternately marked with the horizontal stroke. The following examples alphabetically arranged will suffice to illustrate this phenomenon:

|            |           |          |           |            |        |            |          |
|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|--------|------------|----------|
| Gen. iv 11 | פָּצְתָה  | Gen. v 6 | שָׁנִים   | Gen. iv 16 | בָּיִן | Gen. iv 13 | עֹנֵי    |
| „ vi 12    | הִשְׁחִית | „ iv 2   | וַתִּקֶּף | „ iii 19   | אֶל-   | „ iii 19   | בְּזַעַת |
| „ „ 12     | בָּשָׂר   | „ iii 18 | וְקוֹץ    | „ „ 17     | יָמֵי  | „ iv 7     | חִיטִּיב |

The *Dagesh* also is used in the same phenomenal manner as will be seen from the following examples:

|             |             |           |         |             |        |            |        |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|---------|-------------|--------|------------|--------|
| Gen. iii 17 | צִיְתִידֶךָ | Gen. iv 6 | נָפְלִי | Gen. iii 17 | לְקוֹל | Gen. iv 21 | יָרַע  |
| „ iv 1      | בָּיִן      | „ v 1     | סָפָר   | „ „ 17      | בָּיִן | „ ii 9     | מִטִּב |

## THE VOWEL-POINTS.

Both the employment and position of the graphic signs are abnormal in connection with some of the consonants.

ו.—The audible *Vav* at the end of a word whether as suffix third person singular masculine, or as a constituent part of the expression, which is without a vowel sign in the present Massoretic text is in this MS. with *Sheva* in the body of the letter. Thus אָחִיו is אָחִיִּי Gen. iv 8; לְנִפְיִי is לְנִפְיִיִּי Gen. iv 23; וַיְצִו is וַיְצִוִּי Gen. xii 10.

ח.—The guttural *Cheth* at the end of a word after *Pathach* which has no vowel-point according to our system is furnished with *Sheva*. Thus וְלָקַח and וְלָקַחְתָּ are וְלָקַחְתָּֿ and וְלָקַחְתָּֿֿ Gen. iii 22. The *Pathach* furtive which in certain words is placed under the *Cheth* and which is sounded before it, disappears in this MS. and *Sheva* takes its place. Thus for instance נָחֻ is נָחֻֿ Gen. vi 9 and רוּחַֿ is רוּחַֿֿ Gen. vi 17. When the *Cheth* is preceded by *Yod* the latter takes the *Pathach* and the *Cheth* has *Sheva*. Thus תַּצְמִיחַֿ is תַּצְמִיחַֿֿ Gen. iii 18; בְּרִיִּיםֿ is בְּרִיִּיםֿֿ Gen. viii 21.

י.—The audible *Yod* at the end of a word after *Pathach* or *Kametz*—whether as suffix first person singular or as a constituent part of the expression, which according to our system is without a vowel-sign, is in this MS. with *Chirek*. Thus אָלִיִּי is אָלִיִּיֿ Gen. iv 10; הִנֵּֿי is הִנֵּֿיֿ Gen. v 5.

ע.—The guttural *Ayin* which is without a vowel-sign at the end of a word after *Pathach* has in this MS. *Sheva*. Thus וַיִּשְׁעֶֿ is וַיִּשְׁעֶֿֿ Gen. iv 4; וַיִּדְבֹּֿק is וַיִּדְבֹּֿקֿ Gen. iv 16. This system of vocalization is exhibited in MSS. Nos. 16 and 28 described in my Introduction to the Hebrew Bible pp. 565 etc.; 632 etc.

## VARIOUS READINGS.

The variations in this MS. from the *textus receptus* however are not confined to the external form such as the Sectional divisions and the peculiar use of the graphic signs. They extend both to the consonants and the accents as will be seen from the following analysis of the first ten chapters of Genesis:

| <i>Manuscript</i> | <i>Massoretic Text</i> | <i>Manuscript</i> | <i>Massoretic Text</i>    |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| וְאֶת־כָּל        | וְאֶת־כָּל Gen. viii 1 | מִבְּכֹרֶת        | מִבְּכֹרֹת Gen. iv 4      |
| מִעֲיָנוֹת        | מִעֲיָנֹת „ „ 2        | וּמִחֻלְבָּהֶן    | וּמִחֻלְבֵּהֶן „ „ 4      |
| הַטְּהוֹרָה       | הַטְּהוֹרָה „ „ 20     | תִּמְשָׁל־        | תִּמְשָׁל־ „ „ 8          |
| כִּי־רָק          | כִּי־רָק „ ix 3        | לְקַחַת           | לְקַחַת „ „ 11            |
| לְאָכְלָהּ        | לְאָכְלָהּ „ „ 3       | יִהְיֶה           | יִהְיֶה „ „ 13            |
| מִיָּד כָּל       | מִיָּד כָּל „ „ 5      | קוֹלִי            | קוֹלִי „ „ 23             |
| דָּם              | דָּם „ „ 6             | וְיִלָּד          | וְיִלָּד „ „ 23           |
| וְאֶת־כָּל        | וְאֶת־כָּל „ „ 10      | הוֹחֵל            | הוֹחֵל „ „ 26             |
| הַקְּיָמֹתִי      | הַקְּיָמֹתִי „ „ 17    | הוֹלִידוּ         | הוֹלִידוּ „ v 4           |
| שָׁבָם            | שָׁבָם „ „ 23          | וַיִּשְׁמְנֶה     | וַיִּשְׁמְנֶה „ 7, 10, 14 |
| וַיִּשְׁכֹּן      | וַיִּשְׁכֹּן „ „ 27    | תִּשְׁעַ          | תִּשְׁעַ „ „ 27           |
| שָׁלַשׁ           | שָׁלַשׁ „ „ 28         | אֲרָרָה           | אֲרָרָה „ „ 29            |
| וַיְהִי           | וַיְהִי „ „ 29         | הַנִּפְלֵם        | הַנִּפְלִים „ vi 4        |
| וְתוֹבָל          | וְתוֹבָל „ x 2         | אֶמְחָה           | אֶמְחָה „ „ 7             |
| גְּבוֹר           | גְּבוֹר „ „ 8          | רָחֳבָה           | רָחֳבָה „ „ 15            |
| גִּבּוֹר          | גִּבּוֹר „ „ 9         | וַתְּקִימֹתִי     | וַתְּקִימֹתִי „ „ 18      |
| וְאֶרֶךְ          | וְאֶרֶךְ „ „ 10        | הַחִי             | הַחִי „ „ 19              |
| מִצִּידוֹן        | מִצִּידוֹן „ „ 19      | לְאָכְלָהּ        | לְאָכְלָהּ „ „ 21         |
| וּצְבִיִּים       | וּצְבִיִּים „ „ 20     | בְּעֶצֶם          | בְּעֶצֶם „ vii 13         |
| עוֹבֵל            | עוֹבֵל „ „ 28          |                   |                           |

From the notes in my edition of the Bible on the respective passages it will be seen that some of these variations are supported by other MSS. Far more important however than these are the different readings given in the marginal Massorah in the MS. from other Codices. There are about fifty-six of this category which I subjoin, giving the textual reading as exhibited in the MS. with the variations against the respective words.

Exod. xxvi 29 טבעותיהם טבעותיהם

קר

,, xxvii 11 וכן תעשה

,, xxxii 1 זה סא ב קמ דין וחבר

,, „ 23 זה סא ב קמ

,, „ 25 בקמיהם קוף רב

,, xxxiv 24 לראת סא מל

,, xxxv 11 עמדו דיו קר

,, „ 11 אדנו ניו קר

,, xl 18 בקריהו סא חו כת חיו

קר

Levit. vi 23 תשרף סא ושרף

,, xv 31 מטמאותכם סא

,, „ מטמאתם

,, xix 9 ובקצרכם סא

,, xxiii 22 ובקצרכם סא

,, „ [— ובקצרכם]

Numb. xiv 27 עלי סא עלי ה' פת

,, xxi 35 בננו בגיו קר

,, xxii 27 פלח פלאה קר

,, „ 39 אל-בלק עם-

,, xxiii 13 לה לכה קר

,, „ 23 כי סא כ רב

,, xxv 5 אנשיו סא שו כת שיו

קר

,, „ 11 כליתי סא [=כליתי]

,, xxvi 25 יומתי ומותי קר

,, xxviii 26 בשבעתיכם סא [=ע]

,, xxix 39 במועדיכם סא חס

Deut. iii 10 כל-הבשן סא וכל-

,, v 19 אבנים סא הברית

,, xv 11 ולקביונד סא חס

,, xvi 16 ליהנה ליהנה אלהיך

,, xxxi 12 אלהיכם ב' מטע' בס

,, „ [=אלהיהם]

Gen. vi 3 ידון סא ידון

ובן ו לז

,, xvii 12 לא סא לו כת' לא קרי

,, xix 2 דברת סא כל לש' פת'

,, „ 21 אודת סא אדת חס'

,, xxi 11 הבאר הנה הוצאת

,, „ 30 הני סא הני

,, xxiv 60 תלדת ל' חס' דחס'

,, xxv 12 סא ב' חס' דחס'

,, „ 28 ראו סא ה' כת' ו' קר'

,, xxvii 29 הנה סא הנה

,, xxx 12 בך סא ד מקפ' בצרי

,, „ וזה אינו מן המניין

,, xxxiv 18 ופגשך סא [ ופגשך]

,, „ 18 דבריהם סא

,, „ [— דבריהם]

,, „ 18 חמור סא [=חמור]

,, xxxvi 1 תלדות סא תלדת חס'

,, „ דחס'

,, „ 22 והוקם והוקם ק

,, „ 23 שפי שפו ק

,, xxxviii 25 מוצאת סא מוצת כת

,, „ מוצאת קרי

,, xl 12 הישרנים סא ריגם כת

,, xlv 14 צנאריו סא רג כת ריו

,, „ קר'

,, xlvii 31 ושראל א רב

,, xlix 10 שלה לו ק

,, „ 1 וישיש סא ויושם כ

,, „ וישיש ק

Exod. xiii 11 ובאך וביאך קרי

,, xvii 2 תגדלנו סא תנה לנו

,, „ 16 כס ית סא לא מפיק ה

,, xviii 8 אודת סא ב חס

,, xxii 15 יסחרנה סא

Both the *Paseks* and *Legarmehs* are carefully indicated in the margin against the respective words, the former by the abbreviation פס and the latter by לז. These signs form an integral part of the Massorah Parva on the whole text. In Genesis alone the text exhibits three *Legarmehs* which are not in the *textus receptus* viz. ואת-מקנהו | כי | במקלי (Gen. xxxii 11) ואת-מקנהו | נמות | למה (xlvi 6) and ואת-מקנהו | נמות | למה (xlvii 19). They are not only so in the text but each is marked in the Massorah Parva with לז. It will be seen that למה is here with *Munach* whilst in the Received Text it is למה with *Darga*.

#### THE CHALDEE VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

The Chaldee of the so-called Onkelos which follows each verse of the Hebrew original is of peculiar critical importance inasmuch as the glossator in more than ninety instances gives in the margin various readings from other MSS. These are indicated by the customary formula סא. When the variations simply affect the vowel-points and not the consonants, the graphic signs alone are given which are partly under the formula סא and partly outside it. Thus for instance the textual reading in Numb. xx 14 is אֲשַׁבְּחֶנָּה. Other Codices however which exhibit identically the same consonants read them with different graphic signs. In the margin where the glossator gives this variation, he does not reproduce the letters in question but simply gives the vowel-points viz. אֲשַׁבְּחֶנָּה = אֲשַׁבְּחֶנָּה. Sometimes however he gives the various graphic signs without the formula סא. Thus for instance the textual reading in Numb. viii 2 is לִקְבִּיל. Against this the marginal reading is simply לִקְבִּיל = לִקְבִּיל. This explanation will aid the student in understanding the decipherment of the variations exhibited in the following Register.

|           | Various Reading. | Chaldee equivalent<br>in the text. | Hebrew.         |
|-----------|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Gen. iv 3 | סא תקרובתא       | קורבנא קדם יי                      | מנחה ליהוה      |
| „ 26      | סא שדיא          | חלו בני אינשא                      | הוחל            |
| v 25      | סא [ = ויתמן ]   | ותמן                               | ושמנים          |
| „ 26      | סא [ = ויתמן ]   | ותמן                               | ושמנים          |
| viii 22   | סא [ = יבטלון ]  | יבטלון                             | ישבתו           |
| xiii 5    | סא [ = דאול ]    | דאול                               | ההולך           |
| xv 10     | פילונ            | פלניה לקביל                        | איש-בתרו        |
| xix 33    | סא ובמיקמה       | ובמיקמה                            | ובקומה          |
| „ 35      | סא [ = ובמיקמה ] | ובמיקמה                            | ובקומה          |
| xxi 17    | סא [ = תדחלון ]  | לא-תדחלון                          | אל-תיראי        |
| xxii 2    | ואסקית           | ואסקיתיה                           | והעלהו          |
| xxxvii 13 | לנותהון          | ואשלחנך בשלם                       | ואשלחך אליהם    |
| xxxix 23  | סא [ = דסורחן ]  | דסורחן                             | מאומה           |
| xlvi 27   | סא נבואה         | רוח קודשא עלי-עקב                  | רוח יעקב        |
| 1 3       | סא שלמין         | שלמינו                             | ומלאו           |
| „ 19      | סא [ = תדחלון ]  | תדחלון                             | תיראו           |
| „ 21      | סא [ = תידחלון ] | תידחלון                            | תיראו           |
| Ex. iii 6 | סא ביון          | פלאיסתפלא בצית                     | מהביט אל-האלהים |
|           |                  | יקרא דיוי                          |                 |
| vi 26     | עס-פרעה          | לנות פרעה                          | אל-פרעה         |
| ix 18     | מטרא סא          | מחית בעידנא הרין                   | ממטיר כעת מחר   |
|           |                  | מחר                                |                 |
| xiv 13    | סא [ = תדחלון ]  | לא-תדחלון                          | אל-תיראו        |
| xv 16     | סא [ = ודחלתא ]  | ודחלתא                             | ופחד            |
| xviii 16  | סא כד הוי        | ארייהא                             | בייתיה          |
| „ 16      | סא אתן           | אתא                                | בא              |
| „ 19      | סא [ = אמלכיןד ] | אמלכיןד                            | איעצד           |
| xix 12    | סא [ = אישממרו ] | אישממרו                            | השמרו           |
| „ 22      | סא יקטול         | יתקוף                              | יפרין           |
| „ 24      | סא יקטול         | יתקוף                              | יפרין           |
| xx 17     | סא [ = דחלתיה ]  | דחלתיה                             | יראתו           |
| xxi 6     | סא דלנות         | או לנות                            | או אל-          |
| „ 8       | ממיקמה           | דלא ליה                            | אשר-לא יעדה     |

|             | <i>Various Reading.</i> | <i>Chaldee equivalent<br/>in the text.</i> | <i>Hebrew.</i>                |
|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Ex. xxxii 2 | וְאִיתָּו סָא           | וְאִיתָּא                                  | וְהִבִּיאוּ                   |
| „ 4         | סָא [= דַּחְלֶמֶד]      | דַּחְלֶמֶד                                 | אֶלְהִיד                      |
| „ 8         | סָא [= דַּחְלֶמֶד]      | דַּחְלֶמֶד                                 | אֶלְהִיד                      |
| „ 29        | סָא [= וּלְאִיתָּא]     | וּלְאִיתָּא                                | וּלְתַת                       |
| xxxv 26     | סָא עִמְהִין            | יְתָנָא                                    | אֶתְנָה                       |
| xl 31       | סָא וּמְקִישִׁין        | וּמְקִישִׁין                               | וּרְחָצוּ                     |
| „ 32        | סָא מְקִישִׁין          | יְמִקְדְּשִׁין                             | יְרַחֲצוּ                     |
| Lev. v 6    | אֲשָׁמִיה               | חֹבְתִיה                                   | אֲשָׁמוּ                      |
| „ 7         | אֲשָׁמִיה               | חֹבְתִיה                                   | אֲשָׁמוּ                      |
| vii 30      | תִּיתִיאֵן              | יְתִין                                     | תִּבְיָאֵנָה                  |
| viii 20     | סָא אֶבְרִיא            | וּיְתִיאֶבְרִיא                            | וְאֶת־הַנְּתָחִים             |
| „ 33        | סָא קוּרְבָּגִיכֹן      | אֲשָׁלְמוּתְכֹן                            | מִלְּאִיכֶם                   |
| x 8         | תִּישָׁתִי              | תִּשָּׁת                                   | תִּשָּׁת                      |
| xiii 55     | שָׁנָא סָא              | הַפִּיד                                    | הַפִּד                        |
| „ 55        | בְּשִׁחִיקוּתִיה אוּ    | בְּמַרְחֻתִיה אוּ                          | בְּמַרְחֻתוֹ אוּ בְּגִבְחָתוֹ |
|             | בְּחֶדְתוּתִיה סָא      | בְּגִלּוּשׁוּתִיה                          |                               |
| xx 5        | סָא וּבְסַעְדֻהִי       | וּבִרְעִיטִיה                              | וּבְמִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ            |
| xxi 6       | קורבנא סָא              | קוּרְבָּא דִּיִּי                          | אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה                 |
| xxii 23     | לֹא יְהִי לְרַעְוָא סָא | לֹא יִיתְרַעֵי                             | לֹא יִרְצָה                   |
| xxiv 5      | סָא תְהָא               | תְּוִיא                                    | יְהִיה                        |
| xxv 4       | שְׁמִיטָתָא סָא         | דְּשְׁמִישׁ קֶרֶם יִי                      | נִשְׁבַּת לַיהוָה             |
| „ 28        | סָא תִשְׁכַּח           | אֲשַׁבַּחַת                                | מִצָּאָה                      |
| Nu. viii 2  | סָא [= לְקַבִּיל]       | לְקַבִּיל                                  | אֶל־מוֹל                      |
| xiv 9       | סָא [= תִּדְחֲלוּן]     | תִּדְחֲלוּן                                | תִּירָאוּ                     |
| „ 9         | סָא [= תִּידְחֲלוּן]    | תִּידְחֲלוּן                               | תִּירָאֻם                     |
| „ 24        | יְתִרְכִּינָה סָא       | יִירְתוּנָה                                | יִורֶשְׁנָה                   |
| „ 41        | סָא דִּנֹן              | דִּין                                      | זָה                           |
| xviii 9     | סָא דִּיתִיבו קְדָמִי   | דִּיתִיבו לִי                              | וְשִׁיבוּ לִי                 |
| „ 29        | סָא יִתְמַקְדְּשִׁיה    | יִתְמַקְדְּשִׁיה                           | אֶת־מִקְדָּשׁוֹ               |
| xx 10       | וְאֶכְנִישׁוּ           | וּכְנִשׁוּ                                 | וַיַּקְהֵלוּ                  |
| „ 14        | סָא [= אֲשַׁבַּחַתְנָא] | אֲשַׁבַּחַתְנָא                            | מִצָּאָתָנוּ                  |
| xxi 15      | סָא [= לְנַחֲלִיא]      | לְנַחֲלִיא                                 | הַנַּחֲלִים                   |
| „ 15        | סָא [= לְקַבִּיל]       | לְקַבִּיל תִּיַּת                          | לְשִׁבְתָּ שָׂר               |

|            | <i>Various Reading.</i>                                                                | <i>Chaldee equivalent<br/>in the text.</i> | <i>Hebrew.</i>   |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Nu. xxi 27 | סָא [— מְלִיא]                                                                         | מְלִיא                                     | הַמִּשְׁלִים     |
| xxii 24    | סָא [= בְּשִׁבִּיל]                                                                    | בְּשִׁבִּיל                                | בְּמִשְׁעוֹל     |
| xxiii 2    | סָא מְדַבֵּחַ                                                                          | מְדַבֵּחַ                                  | בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ    |
| „ 4        | סָא מְדַבֵּחַ                                                                          | עַל־בֵּל מְדַבֵּחַ                         | בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ    |
| „ 7        | סָא... [— מְלִיָּה]                                                                    | מְלִיָּה                                   | מִשְׁלוֹ         |
| „ 14, 30   | סָא מְדַבֵּחַ                                                                          | עַל־בֵּל מְדַבֵּחַ                         | בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ    |
| xxiv 3     | סָא... [— מְלִיָּה]                                                                    | מְלִיָּה                                   | מִשְׁלוֹ         |
| „ 11       | סָא מִיָּקֶר                                                                           | מִיָּקֶר                                   | מִקְבֹּד         |
| „ 21, 23   | סָא... [— מְלִיָּה]                                                                    | מְלִיָּה                                   | מִשְׁלוֹ         |
| xxvi 9     | סָא קְדָם                                                                              | עַל־יְי                                    | עַל־יְהוָה       |
| „ 35       | סָא [= בְּכָר]                                                                         | בְּכָר                                     | הַבְּכִירִי      |
| xxviii 6   | סָא עֵלַת                                                                              | עֵלְתָא                                    | עֵלַת            |
| xxix 4     | סָא נָא [= וְעִסְרוֹנָא]                                                               | וְעִסְרוֹן                                 | וְעִשְׂרוֹן      |
| „ 4        | סָא עַת [= לְשִׁבְעַת]                                                                 | לְשִׁבְעָא                                 | לְשִׁבְעַת       |
| Deut. i 17 | סָא... [— תְּדַחֲלוֹן]                                                                 | תְּדַחֲלוֹן                                | תַּגִּירוֹ       |
| iii 18     | וּפְקָרִית                                                                             | וּפִקְרִיד                                 | וְאַצֵּן         |
| vi 9       | סָא דְמִזְוִין וּפִירוּשׁוֹ<br>בַּמָּקוֹם שִׁיעַר כִּי שִׁיעַר<br>תַּרְגוּמוֹ מִזְוִיא | מִזְוִין                                   | מִזְוֹת          |
| xi 19      | סָא וּבְמִיקְמָךְ                                                                      | וּבְקוּמָךְ                                | וּבְקוּמָךְ      |
| „ 20       | סָא דְמִזְוִין                                                                         | מִזְוִין                                   | מִזְוֹת          |
| xii 31     | עֲבָדִין                                                                               | עֲבָדִי                                    | עֲבָדִי          |
| „ 31       | סָא מוֹקְדִין                                                                          | תּוֹקְדִין                                 | יִשְׁרָפוּ       |
| xiii 5     | סָא... [— תְּדַחֲלוֹן]                                                                 | תְּדַחֲלוֹן                                | תִּירָאוּ        |
| xiv 28     | עֲלֵלְתָךְ                                                                             | תְּבוּאָתְךָ                               | תְּבוּאָתְךָ     |
| xix 3      | סָא... [— וּתְתַלַּת]                                                                  | וּתְתַלַּת                                 | וְיִשְׁלִיֶּשֶׁת |
| xx 7       | סָא... [— נִסְבָּה]                                                                    | נִסְבָּה                                   | לְמַחָה          |
| „ 8        | סָא... [— יִתְבַּר]                                                                    | יִתְבַּר                                   | יָמִים           |
| xxi 4      | סָא בְּיָר                                                                             | דְּאִיתָן                                  | אִיתָן           |
| xxxi 12    | וּיְטָרוֹן                                                                             | וּיְדַחֲלוֹן                               | וְעִקְמוֹ        |

From the above List I have excluded the omissions in the text which are manifestly due to the carelessness of the Scribe

and which the Nakdan has supplied in the margin. It must however not be understood that this collation of the original Hebrew or of the Chaldee Version is complete. If this first attempt should lead other students to continue the collation more thoroughly it will be an important contribution to Hebrew Palaeography and to the textual criticism of the Old Testament.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Governors of the Hamburg *Stadtbibliothek* for generously sending me this MS. to the care of the British Museum, and notably to the courteous Dr Robert Münzel through whose kind help I obtained this important Codex.

CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG.

# ON SOME PASSAGES IN ARISTOTLE'S *METAPHYSICS* Λ.

## (i)

ii 1069<sup>b</sup> 18 ὥστ' οὐ μόνον κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐνδέχεται ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὄντος γίγνεται πάντα, δυνάμει μέντοι ὄντος, ἐκ μὴ ὄντος δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀναξαγόρου ἔν (βέλτιον γὰρ ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντα) καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους τὸ μῖγμα καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου, καὶ ὡς Δημόκριτός φησιν, ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα, δυνάμει, ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὐ. ὥστε τῆς ὕλης ἂν εἶεν ἡμμένοι.

In this passage Aristotle's conception of matter as δυνάμει μὲν ὄν μὴ ὄν δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ, 'what is potentially existent but not actually', is brought face to face with the primitive conceptions of Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Anaximander, and Democritus. So much is clear. But when we come to details, several perplexing questions present themselves. In particular, (a) why does Aristotle—who at A viii 989<sup>b</sup> 17 identifies Anaxagoras' νοῦς with ἔν in the Platonic sense of the word and his πανσπερμία with θάτερον—here assert that ἔν is a better description of the πανσπερμία than ὁμοῦ πάντα? (b) by what right does Aristotle (implicitly) use μῖγμα to describe the material principle of Anaximander, which, if he was a monist, was certainly not a μῖγμα? (c) what does Aristotle mean by ascribing to Democritus the doctrine that ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὐ? and, finally, (d) would it not seem that the addition of the words δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὐ is exactly what ought to reconcile Aristotle to Anaxagoras' theory of the material cause?

It seems to me that these difficulties have their origin in the assumption of the commentators that the proposition βέλτιον γὰρ ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντα is a parenthetical sentence having for its subject τὸ ἔν. For my own part, I believe (1) that the subject of the proposition βέλτιον γὰρ ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντα is, not ἔν, but ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὐ in line 23: (2) that, for ἔν, ὄν should be substituted: (3) that Ἐμπεδοκλέους and Ἀναξιμάν-

δρου are governed, not by τὸ μίγμα, but by τὸ ὄν, so that τὸ μίγμα, in apposition to τὸ ὄν, refers to Empedocles alone: (4) that the words καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, τὸ μίγμα, καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου, καὶ ὡς Δημόκριτός φησιν parenthetically appended to τὸ Ἀναξαγόρου ὄν, indicate that the doctrines of Empedocles, Anaximander, and Democritus, should be amended in the same way as the doctrine of Anaxagoras, namely, by a distinct admission that the material principle, in its elemental state, is no more than potentially existent.

I write then—καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ Ἀναξαγόρου ὄν· βέλτιον γὰρ ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντα (καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, τὸ μίγμα, καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου, καὶ ὡς Δημόκριτός φησιν) ἣν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὗ: and I understand Aristotle to say—'and this is Anaxagoras' ὄν; for ἣν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὗ is a better statement of Anaxagoras' meaning than ὁμοῦ πάντα without the qualifying words: and similar supplements would help to a better appreciation of the teaching of Empedocles, Anaximander, and Democritus. Thus these philosophers must have grasped the notion of a material cause'.

It will be seen that with my text (a) Aristotle no longer seeks to force upon Anaxagoras a technical use of ἔν: (b) the principle of Anaximander is no longer absurdly spoken of as a μίγμα: (c) the doctrine ἣν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὗ is no longer absurdly foisted upon Democritus: (d) the words ἣν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὗ take their proper place as Aristotle's improved presentation of Anaxagoras' doctrine.

For the phrase καὶ ὡς Δημόκριτός φησι compare *Λ vi 1071<sup>b</sup> 26* καίτοι εἰ ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ νυκτὸς γεννῶντες, ἢ ὡς οἱ φυσικοὶ ἣν ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματά φασι, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον. *de gen. et corr. B i 329<sup>a</sup> 13* ὡς δ' ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται οὐδένα ἔχει διορισμόν. *B i 329<sup>b</sup> 1* ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ μεταβάλλει εἰς ἄλληλα, καὶ οὐχ ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ ἕτεροι λέγουσιν. For the order of the words βέλτιον γὰρ ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντα...ἣν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὗ, compare *de anima Γ xii 435<sup>a</sup> 5* διὸ καὶ περὶ ἀνακλάσεως, βέλτιον ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἐξιούσαν ἀνακλᾶσθαι, τὸν ἀέρα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ χρώματος μέχρι περ οὗ ἂν εἰς ἧ.

## (ii)

vi 1071<sup>b</sup> 33 αὐὲ γὰρ εἶναί φασι κίνησιν. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί καὶ τίνα οὐ λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ ὡδὶ οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔτυχε κινεῖται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τι αὐὲ ὑπάρχειν, ὥσπερ νῦν φύσει μὲν ὡδί, βία δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ νοῦ ἢ ἄλλου ὡδί.

Bonitz in his note on this passage writes: "Sed quomodo vel construenda sint vel intelligenda haec verba: ἀλλὰ δεῖ τι αὐὲ ὑπάρχειν, non video." Now according to Bonitz the reading of A<sup>b</sup> is δεῖ τι αἰεῖ τι: according to Christ it is δεῖ αἰεῖ τι. In any case, I suspect that the original had δεῖ τι διὰ τί ὑπάρχειν, which manifestly gives a perfect sense: 'there must be a reason'. That διὰ τί might easily become αἰεῖ τι is obvious. For the confusion of *a* and *ei*, see Bast p. 706.

## (iii)

vii 1072<sup>a</sup> 24 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινῶν καὶ μέσον τοίνυν ἐστὶ τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ αἰδῖον καὶ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια οὐσα.

So the mss. What Aristotle means, is plain enough: 'whereas there are (*a*) that which both receives motion and communicates it, κινούμενον καὶ κινῶν, and (*b*) that which receives motion without communicating it, κινούμενον καὶ μὴ κινῶν, we require, to complete the series, (*c*) that which communicates motion but does not receive it, κινῶν καὶ μὴ κινούμενον, κινῶν ἀκίνητον, or, as it is here expressed, ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ'. But how is this meaning to be obtained from the words?

Pseudo-Alexander tells us explicitly that we must punctuate after μέσον; understand ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ κινούμενον μόνως; and begin the apodosis with τοίνυν. But manifestly his subaudition is impossible; the position which he assigns to τοίνυν at the beginning of the apodosis is no less so; and καὶ before μέσον remains unexplained. Bonitz in his commentary p. 495 (cf. his *Observationes* p. 125) suggests, either ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινῶν καὶ κινούμενον μέσον, ἔστι τοίνυν τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, or ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν κινούμενον καὶ μὴ κινῶν, τὸ δὲ κινούμενον καὶ

κινούν, καὶ τρίτον τοίνυν ἔστι τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ. Neither of these suggestions is convincing. The corruptions assumed in the former, though inconsiderable, are not probable, and the result obtained is unsatisfactory: and though the latter gives a satisfactory result, the corruptions assumed are equally improbable and far more extensive.

Now it seems to me that the requisite sense may be obtained at a very small cost. For μέσον, substitute μῆ, ὄν. We shall then have ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινούν καὶ μῆ, ὄν τοίνυν ἔστι τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ: 'since the κινούμενον is both κινούν and μῆ κινούν', [in other words, 'since there are two sorts of κινούμενον, a κινούμενον which is κινούν and a κινούμενον which is μῆ κινούν'], 'there is also, to complete the series, something existent which is κινούν and μῆ κινούμενον'.

Plainly, this is exactly what we want. Moreover the correction is palaeographically plausible. For an uncial H having for its second limb a line slightly curved and slightly detached from the central bar, might well be read as EC, just as, notoriously (see Bast pp. 716, 916 &c), the same letter has been not seldom converted into IC.

• It has occurred to me to wonder whether Themistius had before him the correct reading. For, in the Hebrew-Latin version published in 1558, Finzius has 'cum igitur detur mobile movens et mobile non movens, necessario datur et movens non mobile': whence it would seem that Themistius' paraphrase was something such as ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑπάρχει κινούμενον καὶ κινούν καὶ κινούμενον καὶ μῆ κινούν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχει κινούν καὶ μῆ κινούμενον.

In conclusion, I may note that, as here, starting from κινούμενον, Aristotle distinguishes two sorts of κινούμενον, one which is κινούν and another which is μῆ κινούν, and thence infers the existence of a κινούν which is μῆ κινούμενον, so in *de anima* Γ x 433<sup>b</sup> 13, where in a study of appetency Aristotle has occasion to enumerate the three members of this series, starting from the other end of the scale he begins by dividing κινούν into two sorts, κινούν which is ἀκίνητον and κινούν which is also κινούμενον.

## (iv)

x 1075<sup>b</sup> 37 οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πρῶτον τὸν μαθηματικὸν καὶ οὕτως ἀεὶ ἄλλην ἐχομένην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐκάστης ἄλλας, ἐπεισοδιώδη τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ ἑτέρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ συμβάλλεται οὐσα ἢ μὴ οὐσα) καὶ ἀρχὰς πολλὰς· τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεύεσθαι κακῶς. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω.

When Aristotle complains that the contemporary academics ἐπεισοδιώδη ποιοῦσι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν, and scornfully quotes against them οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω, he manifestly feels himself absolutely secure against retort. Yet at 1073<sup>a</sup> 37 he affirms the existence of a plurality of *κινούμεντα ἀκίνητα* equal in number to the *φοραὶ τῶν πλανήτων*—φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι τοσαύτας τ' οὐσίας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τε φύσιν αἰδίους καὶ ἀκινήτους καθ' αὐτὰς καὶ ἄνευ μεγέθους: and at 1074<sup>a</sup> 14, having in the interval attempted an estimate of the number of *σφαῖραι* necessary to account for the planetary motions, he tells us once more that there are as many *ἀκίνητα* as there are *σφαῖραι* to be set in motion—τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν σφαιρῶν ἔστω τοσοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἀκινήτους καὶ τὰς αἰσθητὰς τοσαύτας εὐλογον ὑπολαβεῖν. These *κινούμεντα*, inasmuch as they are *ἀκίνητα*, do not receive their motions from the *πρῶτον κινῶν ἀκίνητον*, whose function is indeed at 1073<sup>a</sup> 28 expressly distinguished from theirs: ὁρῶμεν δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἀπλήν φοράν, ἣν κινεῖν φάμεν τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἄλλας φορὰς οὐσας τὰς τῶν πλανήτων αἰδίους. If then these *κινούμεντα* are *ἀκίνητα* and do not receive their motion from the *πρῶτον κινῶν ἀκίνητον*, how can Aristotle claim that his universe is not ἐπεισοδιώδης, and that it has no more than εἰς κοίρανος?<sup>1</sup>

To show that the inconsistency is only apparent, is my purpose in the present note.

<sup>1</sup> Bonitz, whose absolute honesty is one of the qualities which give to his commentary its supreme importance, frankly acknowledges both the difficulty and his inability to resolve it. "Hi motores aeterni immobiles," he says at p. 505, "quam habeant ad summum primi coeli motorem ratio-

nem, frustra ab Ar. quaesiveris. Ac deos diisve similes quum eos esse dicit, ab unitate dei, quam enixissime contendit, quasi invitus ad multitudinem inferiorum quorundam deorum videtur descivisse": and at p. 526 he again indicates his perplexity.

Now, without question, the *πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον*, which, by attraction (*κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐρώμενον* 1072<sup>b</sup> 3) sets in motion the sphere of the fixed stars, is *θεός* or *νοῦς*, who 'energizes continually' (*ἐνεργεῖ δὲ ἔχων* 1072<sup>b</sup> 22) in the contemplation of his own thoughts. What then are the *κινοῦντα ἀκίνητα*? They are—for there is nothing else with which they can be equated—the thoughts of *θεός* or *νοῦς*. But this *νοῦς* and its *νοητόν* are identical: *ἐαυτὸν δὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοῦς κατὰ μετάληψιν τοῦ νοητοῦ. νοητὸς γὰρ γίγνεται θιγγάνων καὶ νοῶν, ὥστε ταῦτόν νοῦς καὶ νοητόν* 1072<sup>b</sup> 20. Hence, in virtue of the identity of the divine mind and its thoughts, there is but one *κοίρανος*, although, inasmuch as it and they, by attraction, severally and independently set in motion the spheres of the fixed stars and of the planets, they are all of them *κινοῦντα ἀκίνητα*. In a word, whereas as *ἀκίνητα* it and they are a unity, as *κινοῦντα* they perform distinct functions.

Manifestly, here, as often, Aristotle Platonizes. For, the *κινοῦντα ἀκίνητα* of Aristotle are related to the *πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον* in precisely the same way in which the *θεοὶ θεῶν* of the *Timaeus* are related to the *δημιουργός*: that is to say, both the *κινοῦντα ἀκίνητα* of Aristotle which set in motion the planetary spheres, and the *θεοὶ θεῶν* of Plato which, when they receive from the *δημιουργός* body and position in space, become stars, are the thoughts of the one supreme mind.

But we must not overlook the fundamental difference between the two philosophers. Whereas Plato seeks to express what is material in terms of mind, and in virtue of his idealism is a 'monist', Aristotle regards the mind which attracts and the matter which is attracted as distinct entities, and never professes to be anything but a dualist. Indeed we find him at A ix 992<sup>b</sup> 9 sharply criticizing Plato's pretensions. Accordingly, whereas Plato at the end of the *Timaeus* pronounces his unification of mind and matter to be complete, here, at the end of book A, distinguishing between them, Aristotle claims to have established the unity, not of mind and matter, the governor and the governed, but of governing mind only.

HENRY JACKSON.

27 July 1903.

## NOTES ON QUINTILIAN BOOK X.

I print these notes as I wrote them out for press thirty years ago, adding examples here and there from my collections. Any coincidence with later publications is therefore accidental. The pages and lines are those of my unfinished edition (Cambridge 1870).

### CHAPTER V. WHAT TO WRITE (cf. c. 3 § 4).

ΞΙΥ PARANTIBUS. *NON EST HUIUS QUIDEM* ΞΙΥ parantibus, non est huius quidem *Bursian*: heximparantibus (*sup. x est c ut videtur*) quidem **Bn**, hec imparantibus quidem **Bg**, exparantibus id qua idem **b**, hec exuberantis quidem est **M**, hoc quidem exuberantis sit *Spalding et sic fere edd. posteriores.* HALM.

§ 1 l. 14 ΞΙΥ 1 § 1 l. 3 n.

l. 16 EST IAM est iam *scripsi*: est etiam *libri.* HALM.

PRIMO LIBRO c. 9 where as *dicendi primordia* fables, *sententiae, chriae, ethologiae* are recommended for boys as yet too young for the rhetorician's teaching.

PUERORUM 1 § 24 l. 30 n. See *Bonnell adolescens, adolescentulus, puer.* Philostr. (himself a pupil) thus describes the school of Proklos of Naukratis at Athens s. II 21 § 3 τὰ δὲ τῆς μελέτης πατρια τὰνδρὶ τούτῳ δέκεται ὥδε. ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἅπαξ καταβαλόντι ἐξῆν ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον. ἦν δ' αἰτῶ καὶ θήκη βιβλίων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ὧν μετῆν τοῖς συλλεγομένοις ἐς τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ὥς δὲ μὴ συρίττοιμεν ἀλλήλους μηδὲ σκώπτοιμεν, ἃ ἐν ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν ξυνουσίαις φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ἀθρόοι ἐσεκαλούμεθα καὶ ἐκαθήμεθα, ἐσκληθέντες, οἱ μὲν παῖδες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ μέσοι, τὰ μειράκια δ' αὐτοί. τὸ μὲν οὖν διαλεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν σπανιστοῖς ἔκειτο, ὅτε δ'

ὀρμήσειεν ἐς διάλεξιν, ἰππιάζοντί τ' ἑόκει καὶ γοργιάζοντι. ἡ μελέτη δὲ τῆς προτεραίας προεωραμένη ἐσεκυκλεῖτο.

l. 17 SECUNDO c. 4 *fabula, argumentum, historia, (narrationes), ἀνασκευή, κατασκευή, communes loci, thesis, coniecturales causae, legum laus ac vituperatio.* c. 10 *suasoriae iudicialesque materiae.*

SED ut explicemus.

l. 18 DE QUO NUNC AGITUR cf. the legal phrase *qua de re agitur* Brisson. form. v 169.

UNDE COPIA ET FACILITAS MAXIME VENIAT 1 § 1 l. 2 n. §§ 5—8.

VENIAT many exx. in Bonnell of this use.

§ 2 l. 19 VERTERE GRAECA IN LATINUM Plin. ep. vii 9 § 2 *utile in primis et multi praecipunt vel ex graeco in latinum vel ex latino vertere in graecum* [Quintil. § 4 l. 33]: *quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum* [cf. Quintil. § 3 l. 29], *vis explicandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur: simul quae legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt* [Quintil. § 8 l. 23—6]: *intellegentia ex hoc et iudicium acquiritur.* Almelooven cites Hieron. pr. in chron. Eus. init. *vetus iste disertorum mos fuit, ut exercendi ingenii causa graecos libros latino sermone absolverent, et quod plus in se difficultatis habet poemata illustrium virorum addita metri necessitate transferrent. unde et noster Tullius Platonis integros libros ad verbum interpretatus est: et cum Aratum iam romanum hexametris versibus edidisset, in Xenophontis oeconomico lusit. in quo opere ita saepe aureum illud flumen eloquentiae scabris quibusdam et turbulentis obicibus retardatur, ut, qui interpretata nesciunt, a Cicerone dicta non credant.* cf. Ascham's rules for translation and retranslation, scholmaster ed. 1863, 2—6. 93—7. 100—6. 274. Westermann II 168 n. 13. Suet. de gramm. et rhet. 25 (= de rhet. I p. 122 pr. Reiff.) *interdum Graecorum scripta convertere.* c. 26 (= c. 2 p. 123, Cicero in a letter to M. Titinnius): *continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse.*

l. 20 ID SE L. CRASSUS IN ILLIS CICERONIS DE ORATORE LIBRIS DICIT FACTITASSE Cic. de or. I § 155 *postea mihi placuit,*

*eoque sum usus adulescens*, ut summorum oratorum graecas orationes explicarem. quibus lectis hoc assequebar, ut, cum ea quae legeram graece latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quaedam verba imitando, quae nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea.

l. 21 ID CICERO SUA IPSE PERSONA FREQUENTISSIME PRAECIPIT Spalding questions this. 'neque enim nisi in genere commendatam graecarum litterarum exercitationem meminisse me reperire in scriptis Ciceronianis, velut initio libb. de Off., de Fin., eaque parte Bruti, ubi de studiorum suorum ratione exponit. suspicor et hanc *frequentissime de vertendo graeca praecipientis Ciceronis* mentionem esse ab illa toties nobis animadversa securitate Quintiliani, qui libros cum maxime laudatos neque memoria tenuerit neque inspexerit.' Cic. Tusc. III § 29 *itaque apud Euripiden a Theseo dicta laudantur; licet enim*, ut saepe facimus, in latinum illa convertere. id. de opt. gen. orat. §§ 13—4 *sed cum in eo magnus error esset, quale esset id dicendi genus* [the Attic], *putari mihi suscipiendum* laborem utilem studiosis, *mihi quidem ipsi non necessarium*. converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter seque contrarias, Aeschini et Demostheni; nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis: in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vinque servavi.

l. 22 LIBROS PLATONIS the Timaeus (a long fragment in Kayser VIII 131—144) and the Protagoras (fragments ib. XI 54—5; select passages from other works ib. 77—83). Teuffel Gesch. d. röm. Lit.<sup>2</sup> § 183 9, 19.

ATQUE 1 § 38 l. 35 n.

XENOPHONTIS the oeconomicus (fragments in Kayser XI 50—54). Teuffel ib. § 183 18.

l. 23 HOC GENERE = *ad hunc modum* l. 24. i.e. exercitationis causa. § 7 l. 17. 3 § 26 l. 14. See Madvig on Cic. fin.<sup>2</sup> II § 9 p. 151.

MESSALAE 1 § 113 n.

l. 24 AD HUNC MODUM 1 § 89 l. 37. 2 § 21 l. 17. Hand I 109.

ILLA HYPERIDIS PRO PHRYNE SUBTILITATE 1 § 77 n.

A fragm. I 5 § 61 *apud* Messalam 'bene fecit Euthia.' For the conciseness cf. Cic. or. § 108 illa pro Roscio *iuvenilis redundantia*. Quintil. XI 1 § 22 *neque hoc dico, non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte*.

DIFFICILLIMA ROMANIS 1 § 100.

SUBTILITATE 2 § 19 n.

l. 26 MANIFESTA EST...RATIO 7 § 14 l. 14.

§ 3 l. 27 AUCTORES 1 § 24 l. 33 n.

l. 28 INTULERUNT § 16 l. 31. VERBIS UTI OPTIMIS Cic. cited on § 2 l. 20. )( § 5 l. 6 *optimis occupatis*.

l. 29 OMNIBUS UTIMUR NOSTRIS 'in rendering from Greek into Latin all the words we employ are our own, at our disposal'; whereas in paraphrases from the Latin §§ 4—8 the best words are already forestalled. So Gesner and the other edd. Perhaps rather: 'for every Latin word is at our command; not a single one is foreclosed against us.'

FIGURAS Plin. cited § 2 l. 19. 1 § 50 l. 25 n. I 1 § 13. IV 2 § 118.

l. 30 ETIAM NECESSITAS )( *licet* l. 29.

§ 4 l. 33 ILLA EX LATINIS CONVERSIO VII 2 § 35 *ex causis probatio*. Many exx. of the connexion of substantives by prepositions in Fabri on Liv. XXI 11 § 13. Heinichen Lehrb. des lat. Stils 130—2. Reisig-Haase 617—8.

ET IPSA 1 § 31 l. 31 n. Hand II 506—7, who is mistaken ib. 478, where he follows Sarpe in the explanation *multum, et quidem per se*; in spite of the foregoing *et*, the phrase may retain its usual sense.

CONTULERIT 1 § 27 l. 9 n.

l. 34 AC...QUIDEM Hand I 502—3.

DE CARMINIBUS cf. HSt. and Ernesti lex. rhet. gr. *μετάφρασις*. Ascham scholmaster ed. 1863, pp. 101. 118—125 (with the interesting comparison of Homer and Plato; of Hesiod, Soph., Cic., Liv., Bas.). 235.

l. 35 SULPICIOUS 1 § 116 n.

## I. 36 SPIRITUS I § 27 l. 11 n.

ADTOLLERE Plin. ep. IX 26 § 2 *debet enim orator erigi, adtolli, interdum etiam effervescere, effferri et saepe accedere ad praecepta*. Quintil. XII 2 § 28 *haec sunt, quibus mens pariter atque oratio insurgant*.

I. 37 POETICA LIBERTATE I § 28. I 8 § 14. cf. *p. licentia* II 4 §§ 3. 19. IV 1 §§ 58—9. Serv. Aen. I 54. 142. 227. 550. III 3. 349. ib. I 15 *poetarum licentia*. Aus. grat. act. 3 § 5 (p. 354 37 Peiper). gramm. in Herm. de emend. rat. gr. gramm. p. 448 *ποιητικῇ ἀδείᾳ*. Otto Sprichwörter p. 283 n. \*\*. Archiv f. lat. Lexik. VIII 35, 408. XIII 395. Solin. 7 23. Tert. ad nat. II 7 (p. 364 5 Otto dub.). id. adv. Marc. I 3 pr. *si duos deos liceat induci, si forte poetica et pictoria licentia, et tertia iam, haeretica*. de an. 57 fin. Aug. civ. D. VIII 21 (I p. 352 9, ed. Dombart) *sententiam...Platonis, qua noluit deos per impiam licentiam poetarum falsis criminibus infamari*. schol. Luc. III 1. IV 143. Priscian II 35 (I 65 11). Censorin. IV 12. panegyr. 2 I (p. 89 19 Bährens). Firm. Mat. math. VIII 5 l. 17. Symm. p. 319 18 ed. Seeck. Lact. on Stat. Th. II 32. IV 215. Martian. Capella § 297. gramm. lat. V 78 27. Bünem. on Lact. I 11 § 24. Ov. am. III 12 41 *exit in immensum fecunda licentia vatium*. Phaedr. IV 25 8. Sen. n. q. II 44 § 1. cf. Gell. I 16 tit. Macrobb. de diff. ...gr. latinique verbi 5 § 6 (in grammar). sat. VI 9 § 13. comm. II 8 § 5. Claud. Mam. p. 162 18. Avitus p. 202 8. Migne's Patrol. xc p. 1153 a *bis c. ποιητικῇ ἐξουσία* Diphil. in Ath. p. 223 b. Strabo I 2 § 17 pr. p. 25. Luc. Demosth. enc. 10. diss. c. Hesiodo 5. Themist. p. 148 a. Iul. or. I p. 10 b.

NON PRAESUMUNT EADEM PROPRIE DICENDI FACULTATEM 'quae libera oratione scripta ab aliis eodem genere, commutata tamen, dicere conamur, ea hoc habent incommodum, ut praesumpta fere sint, vel occupata, ut modo dicebamus, ea, quae sunt optima: sed poetice dicta non praesumunt, praeripiunt, intercipiunt, facultatem eadem proprie demptis poetici stili phaleris dicendi. XI 1 § 27 *inviti indices audiant praesumentem partes suas*.' GESNER. I 1 § 19 *quantum in infantia praesumptum est temporis adulescentiae adquiritur*. ib. 10 § 27. II 4 § 7.

PROPRIE 1 § 6 l. 11 n. § 9 l. 32 n.

p. 31 l. 1 SENTENTIIS 1 § 50 l. 25 n.

l. 2 ROBUR 3 § 10 l. 2. 1 §§ 29—30. II 4 § 2 *grammaticis poeticas [narrationes] dedimus: apud rhetorem initium sit historica, tanto robustior, quanto verior.*

EFFUSA 1 § 62 l. 7 n. Plin. ep. I 20 § 20 *non minus non servat modum qui infra rem quam qui supra, qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit.* HERBST.

EFFUSA SUBSTRINGERE 4 § 1 *luxuriantia adstringere.* Burm. cites Tert. de orat. 1 of the Lord's Prayer *quantum... substringitur verbis, tantum diffunditur sensibus.*

§ 5 l. 2 NEQUE EGO 1 § 30 l. 25 n. NEQUE TANTUM...SED 1 § 6 l. 12 n.

l. 3 PARAPHRASIM ESSE INTERPRETATIONEM TANTUM the same contrast between the paraphrase and the bald translation I 9 § 2 *versus primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari: tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et brevare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur.* Suet. gr. 4. Ascham pp. 101. 106—118. 127.

INTERPRETATIONEM TANTUM 1 § 87. Cic. cited on 5 § 2 l. 21. id. fin. III § 15 *nec tamen exprimi verbum e verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indiserti solent.* Hor. a. p. 133—4 *nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus | interpres.*

l. 4 CIRCA 1 § 52 l. 32 n. IDEOQUE 1 § 21 l. 17 n.

l. 5 AB ILLIS DISSENTIO, QUI VERTERE ORATIONES LATINAS VETANT, QUIA OPTIMIS OCCUPATIS, QUIDQUID ALITER DIXERIMUS, NECESSE SIT ESSE DETERIUS § 3. The reference is to Cic. de or. I § 154 where Crassus says *in quotidianis autem commentationibus equidem mihi adolescentulus proponere solebam illam exercitationem maxime, qua C. Carbonem, nostrum illum inimicum, solitum esse uti sciebam; ut aut versibus propositis quam maxime gravibus aut oratione aliqua lecta ad eum finem, quem memoria possem comprehendere, eam rem ipsam, quam legissem, verbis aliis quam maxime possem lectis pronuntiarem. sed post animadverti hoc esse in hoc vitii, quod ea verba, quae maxime cuiusque rei propria quaeque essent ornatissima atque optima, occupasset aut Ennius, si ad eius versus me exercerem,*

aut Gracchus, si eius orationem mihi forte proposuissem: ita, si isdem verbis uterér, nihil prodesse; si aliis, etiam obesse, cum minus idoneis uti consuescerem. Fortunatian. III 3 p. 122 17 Halm two of the four parts of *exercitatio* are *ut graeca in latinum convertas...ut μετάφρασιν facias*.

I. 7 NEQUE SEMPER EST DESPERANDUM ALIQUID ILLIS, QUAE DICTA SUNT, MELIUS POSSE REPERIRI Plin. ep. VII 9 § 3 *nihil obfuerit quae legeris hactenus ut rem argumentumque teneas quasi aemulum scribere lectisque conferre ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu, quid ille commodius. magna gratulatio, si nonnulla tu; magnus pudor, si cuncta ille melius. licebit interdum et notissima eligere et certare cum electis. audax haec, non tamen improba, quia secreta contentio: quamquam multos videmus eiusmodi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, quosque subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperant, antecessisse. Quintil. XII 1 § 21 ego non audeam dicere, aliquid in hac, quae superest, aeternitate inveniri posse eo, quod fuerit, perfectius!*

I. 8 NEQUE ADEO IEIUNAM AC PAUPEREM NATURA Eloquentiam fecit 2 § 17 l. 27 n. 1 4 § 5 *quo minus sunt ferendi, qui hanc artem ut tenuem atque ieiunam cavillantur. VI 2 § 7 huc igitur incumbat orator, hoc opus eius, hic labor est, sine quo cetera nuda ieiuna infirma ingrata sint. VIII 3 § 49 quaedam hebes sordida ieiuna tristis ingrata vilis oratio est, where ieiuna) (copiosa oratio. Very frequent in Cic. See lexx. ieiune, ieiunitas, ieiunus, hungry, lean.*

§ 6 l 10 NISI FORTE...ORANDI MINOR VIS an example of the *argumentum a minori ad maius*, with coordination of the contrasted clauses; cf. § 7 l. 16. 1 § 6 n. 7 § 24 l. 37 n. XI 2 § 38. XII 3 § 5.

NISI FORTE HISTRIONUM MULTA CIRCA VOCES EASDEM VARIARE GESTUS POTEST, ORANDI MINOR VIS Maer. sat. III 14 = II 10 § 12 (where see Jan) of Cicero *nam illam orationem quis est qui non legerit, in qua populum Romanum obiurgat quod Roscio gestum agente tumultuarit? et certe satis constat contendere eum cum ipso histrione solitum, utrum ille saepius eandem sententiam variis gestibus efficeret an*

ipse per eloquentiae copiam sermone diverso pronuntiaret. *quae res ad hanc artis suae fiduciam Roscium abstraxit, ut librum conscriberet quo eloquentiam cum histrionia compararet.* Cic. p. Arch. § 17 of Roscius *ergo* ille corporis motu tantum amoris sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus: nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum neglegemus? Cf. de or. I § 251. II § 233. Brut. § 290 prov. of a consummate orator *in scena esse Roscium.*

I. 11 CIRCA I § 52 l. 32 n.

GESTUS I § 17 l. 31 n. XI 3 § 125 comicus *magis quam oratorius gestus.*

ORANDI I § 8 l. 22 n.

I. 12 POST QUOD NIHIL Iuv. v 148 post quem nihil *amplius edit.*

MATERIA I § 62 l. 3 n.

DICENDUM SIT may be taken as = *dici debeat* rather than *dici possit*, though the gerundive in poets and later prose runs into the latter sense. Madvig on Cic. fin. I § 6. Zumpt § 650.

I. 13 ESTO...ESSE Hor. ep. I 1 81 *esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri. esto sit, esto ut sit.*

MELIUS § 51 l. 7 *illis quae dicta sunt, melius.*

NEQUE PAR, EST CERTE PROXIMIS LOCUS I § 126 l. 20 *foret enim optandum, pares ac saltem proximos illi viro fieri.* XII 11 § 26 *etiam si quis summa desperet,...tamen est, ut Cicero ait, pulchrum in secundis tertiisque consistere.* Hor. c. I 12 18—20 *nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum: | proximos illi tamen occupavit | Pallas honores.*

§ 7 AN VERO Hand I 347—8. 357.

I. 15 ET QUIDEM I § 34 l. 13 n. Plin. ep. I 6 § 1 *apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos.* ib. 12 § 1 *decessit Corellius Rufus, et quidem sponte.* HERBST. Reisig-Haase 455 n. Liv. XLV 39 § 9. Mühlmann I 2 838 3) β. For a similar use of *et* alone see Hand II 477—8.

I. 16 NISI FORTE CONTENDERE NOBISCUM POSSUMUS, CUM ALIIS NON POSSUMUS § 6 l. 10 n. 6 § 6 *ut nos fortuna decipere non possit, adiuvare possit.* Cic. p. Mil. § 26 *consulatum eripi Miloni non posse, vitam posse.* Liv. XXII 51 § 4 *vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis.* cf. *non item* Zumpt § 730 b.

Cic. n. d. II § 62 *quod in Libera servant, in Libero non item.* HERBST: Zumpt § 781. Matth. on Cic. p. Mil. § 26. Kühner on Tusc. III § 11 fin. Plin. ep. III 16 § 11 n.

l. 17 SI UNO GENERE BENE DICERETUR Tac. d. 18 *nec statim deterius esse, quod diversum est cet.* cf. 23 f. UNO 'only one.' So Iuv. X 2 n. *pauci* 'only a few.' GENERE § 2 l. 23 n. 3 § 26. cf. l. 19 *innumerabiles modi.*

l. 18 FAS ERAT after *si diceretur* 6 § 2 l. 12 n. Zumpt § 518.

NUNC VERO νῦν δέ, 'but as the case really is.' Müttzell on Curt. III 4=9 § 5. Liv. XXII 25 § 10. Fabri ib. XXI 40 § 3. Kühner on Cic. Tusc. III § 2. Hand IV 340—1. Sen. de rem. fort. 7 § 1 *moverer, ... si Scipiones duo ista loquerentur: nunc malis displicere laudari est.* ib. § 2 *moverer, si hoc indicio facerent: nunc morbo faciunt.*

§ 8 l. 20 SUA BREVITATI GRATIA, SUA COPIAE Plin. ep. I 20 his arguments against a friend, *cui nihil aeque in causis agendis ut brevitatis placet.*

ALIA TRANSLATIS VIRTUS, ALIA PROPRIIS I 5 § 71 *propria sunt verba, cum id significant, in quod primo denominata sunt: translata, cum alium natura intellectum, alium loco praebent.* VIII 3 § 15 *perspicuitatem propriis, ornatum translatis verbis magis egere.* ib. § 24. 6 §§ 5—6 *incipiamus igitur ab eo [tropo], qui cum frequentissimus est, tum longe pulcherrimus, translatione dico, quae μεταφορά graece vocatur...* transfertur ergo nomen aut verbum ex eo loco, in quo proprium est, in eum, in quo aut proprium deest aut translatum proprio melius est. Cf. the whole ch. ib. 2 § 11 *etiam quae bene translata sunt, propria dici solent.* On translatio cf. ad Herenn. IV § 45 Kayser. Cic. or. § 134. de or. III §§ 155—6. Ernesti μεταφορά. translatio. Volkmann 355—9. Cope 374—9.

l. 21 PROPRIIS I § 6 l. 11 n. § 9 l. 32 n.

ORATIO RECTA I § 44 l. 22 n. V 13 § 2 *quare inde recta fere... est actio: hinc mille flexus et artes desiderantur.* VI 1 § 2 *quae autem enumeranda videntur, cum pondere aliquo dicenda sunt et aptis excitanda sententiis et figuris utique varianda: aliqui nihil est odiosius recta illa repetitione velut memoriae*

*iudicum diffidenti.* IX 1 § 3 *utraque res de recta et simplici ratione cum aliqua dicendi virtute deflectitur.* IX 2 §§ 78—9.

FIGURA DECLINATA oratio )( recta 1 § 12 l. 10 n.

COMMENDAT 'sets off.' Iuv. XI 208 *voluptates commendat rarior usus.* Plin. ep. IX 5 § 1 *iustitiam tuam provincialibus multa humanitate commendas.* ib. 36 § 6 of his tenants *quorum mihi agrestes querellae litteras nostras et haec urbana opera commendant.* Phaedr. II prol. 5—7 *quicumque fuerit ergo narrantis iocus, | dum capiat aurem et servet propositum suum, | re commendatur, non auctoris nomine.* Cic. and Hor. in lexx.

1. 22 UTILISSIMA EST EXERCITATIONI DIFFICULTAS II 10 §§ 8. 9. XI 2 § 42 *difficiliora...debent esse quae exercent, quo sit levius illud, in quod exercent, ut athletae ponderibus plumbeis exercent manus, quibus vacuis et nudis in certamine utendum est.* Jos. bell. Iud. III 5 = 6 § 1 of Roman soldiers *οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὰς μὲν μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἵματος παρατάξεις, τὰς παρατάξεις δὲ μεθ' αἵματος μελέτας.*

1. 23 AUCTORES 1 § 24 l. 33 n. NON ENIM 1 § 8 l. 24 n.

1. 24 SECURA V 13 § 59 *securis otiosisque.* TRANSCURRIMUS 1 § 19 l. 3 n. For the thought cf. Plin. cited on § 2 l. 19.

§ 9 l. 28 EX INDUSTRIA 1 § 20 l. 13 n.

1. 29 QUAM NUMEROSISSIME 'in as many different ways as we can,' a silver age use of the word. II 12 § 3 Spalding *rudia politis maiora et sparsa compositis numerosiora creduntur.* V 10 § 10. VI 3 § 36. VIII pr. § 2. XI 2 § 27. The word occurs in the old sense 'rhythmical' thrice in Quintil. Plin. h. n. VIII § 209 of swine *neque alio ex animali numerosior materia ganeae.* ib. XXXIII § 61 *nec aliud laxius dilatatur aut numerosius dividitur.* VFl. I 436 *numerosa phalanx.* Iuv. x 105 n. Plin. ep. IX 37 § 4. Colum. VII 2 § 1. Amm. xxx 4 § 6. Eutr. v 3. IX 27. x 1. 5. 6.

EADEM CERA ALIAE ALIAEQUE FORMAE DUCI SOLENT Plin. ep. VII 9 § 11 *ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur | si doctos digitos iussaue fiat opus, | et nunc informet Martem castamque Minervam, | nunc Venerem effingat,*

nunc Veneris puerum: | ...sic hominum ingenium flecti  
ducique per artes | non rigidas docta mobilitate decet.  
Cic. de or. III § 176—7 *nihil est enim tam tenerum neque tam  
flexibile neque quod tam facile sequatur quocumque ducas  
quam oratio...non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia contentiōis  
verba...sed ea nos cum iacentia sustulimus e medio*, sicut mollis-  
simam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et fin-  
gimus. Demetr. de eloc. § 296 καθόλου δὲ ὥσπερ τὸν  
αὐτὸν κηρὸν ὁ μὲν τις κύνα ἔπλασεν, ὁ δὲ βοῦν, ὁ δὲ  
ἵππον, οὕτω καὶ πρᾶγμα ταῦτὸν ὁ μὲν τις ἀποφαινόμενος  
καὶ κατηγορῶν φησιν...ἕτερος δὲ ταῦτὸν ὑποθετικῶς  
προοίσεται. GESNER and COLOMIES. Plat. Theaet. 191 D.  
rep. 377 B. Cic. or. § 52. comm. on Hor. a. p. 163. Casaubon  
and Jahn on Pers. v 40. Stat. Ach. i 331—4. Chalcid. Tim.  
50 b and comm. ch. 127—8 where *mollis cedensque materia*.  
pp. 351 15, 352 2. Gataker on Antonin. vii § 23. Cf. the  
potter's clay (Jer. 18 6, wisd. 15 7, ecclus. 33 13, Rom. 9 21,  
Pers. 3 23) and the sculptor's block (Is. 44 15—19, wisd. 13  
11—14, Baruch 6 45, Hor. s. i 8 1—3) and metal (Iuv. x 63  
64 n.).

l. 30 ALIAE ALIAEQUE only here in Quintil. for the usual  
*al. atque al.* Two cxx. from Cels. in lexx. DUCI 3 § 18 l. 10 n.  
II 17 § 3 *e luto vasa ducendi artem*. Burm. on II 14 § 1.

§ 10 l. 31 MATERIA 1 § 62 l. 3 n.

l. 32 CAUSARUM in the strict sense every *causa* ('case')  
would have its variety of persons, times, places, etc. III 5  
§§ 17—18. Cic. top. § 80. Hence *causa* must here denote  
special questions, contained under the *causa* in the wider sense  
of the term. KRÜGER. Cf. II 4 § 36 cited on § 11 l. 1.

l. 34 EX QUIBUS...ADPREHENDAS 1 § 30 l. 27 n. OFFEREN-  
TIBUS 7 § 6 l. 11 n.

§ 11 l. 35 ILLUD...FUNDERE 1 § 22 l. 18 n.

FUNDERE CONTRACTA to expand. 1 § 73 l. 31 n. )( 5 § 4  
*effusa substringere*. II 13 § 5 *constricta an latius fusa narratio*.  
III 4 § 4 *quaerendumque, quo moti priores rem tam late fusam  
tam breuiter adstrinxerint*. IX 4 § 128 *poscitur tum austera  
[periodus], si accuses, tum fusa, si laudes*. ib. § 130 *fusiores  
liberioresque numeros*. XI 1 § 5 *et hic Cicero alloquens Brutum*

*testatur esse haec ei nota ideoque brevius a se dici, quamquam sit fusus locus tracteturque a philosophis latius.* 3 § 15 et contracta et fusa [qualitas vocis]. ib. §§ 64. 84. ib. § 50 *latum etiam atque fustum.* XII 2 § 23. Ernesti *fundere.* VIII 3 § 10 of a lopt olive-tree *in orbem se formosius fundet.* Spald. cites Cic. fin. III § 15 *fundi quodam modo et quasi dilatari,* where Davies adds Sen. and Plin. h. n.

l. 37 EXPOSITIS 'hackneyed,' 'obvious.' Iuv. VII 54 n. of the true bard *qui nihil expositum soleat deducere.* Spalding cites Sen. ep. 55 § 6 of a mansion *frontem...eius tantum novi et exposita, quae ostendit etiam transeuntibus.*

p. 32 l. 1 IN HOC OPTIME FACIENT 1 § 33 l. 12 n. 7 § 4 l. 33. Colum. iv 13 § 2 *faciunt in hunc usum harundinum quoque folia.*

INFINITAE QUAESTIONES, QUAS VOCARI THESIS DIXIMUS general or abstract. III 5 § 5 *convenit quaestiones esse aut infinitas aut finitas. infinitae sunt, quae remotis personis et temporibus et locis ceterisque similibus in utramque partem tractantur, quod Graeci θέσιν dicunt, Cicero propositum, alii quaestiones universales civiles, alii quaestiones philosopho convenientes, Athenaeus partem causae appellat.* ib. §§ 7—8 *finitae autem sunt ex complexu rerum personarum temporum ceterorumque: hae ὑποθέσεις a Graecis dicuntur, causae a nostris. in his omnis quaestio videtur circa res personasque consistere. amplior est semper infinita, inde enim finita descendit. quod ut exemplo pateat, infinita est 'an uxor ducenda,' finita 'an Catoni ducenda,' ideoque esse suasoria potest.* ib. § 9 *hae autem, quas infinitas voco, et generales appellantur: quod si est verum, finitae speciales erunt:* ib. §§ 10—16. 6 § 81. II 4 § 36 *sunt hae [primae exercitationes] citra complexum personarum temporum causarum.* ib. §§ 24—5. 1 § 9. VII 10 § 5. VIII pr. § 8. XII 2 § 18. ib. § 25 *Peripatetici studio quoque se quodam oratorio iactant: nam theses dicere exercitationis gratia fere est ab iis institutum.* DL. v 3 of Aristotle πρὸς θέσιν συνεγύμναζε τοὺς μαθητὰς ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐπασκῶν. Artemidorus cited ib. IX 53 of Protagoras πρῶτος κατέδειξε τὰς περὶ τὰς θέσεις ἐπιχειρήσεις. Theon progymn.

2 § 8 παραδείγματα τῆς τῶν θέσεων γυμνασίας λαβεῖν ἔστι παρὰ τε Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου· πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν βιβλία θέσεων ἐπιγραφόμενα. Cic. orat. §§ 44—9 esp. § 46 haec igitur quaestio a propriis personis et temporibus ad universi generis orationem traducta appellatur θέσις. in hac Aristoteles adolescentes non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum, in utramque partem ut ornatus et uberius dici posset, exercuit. ib. § 115. de or. I § 138 among the common, stock lessons of the schools esse omnem orationem aut de infinitae rei quaestione sine designatione personarum et temporum aut de re certis in personis ac temporibus locata. ib. II §§ 41—2. 78. 118. 133—141. III § 109 dicunt igitur nunc quidem illi, qui ex particula parva urbis ac loci nomen habent et Peripatetici philosophi aut Academici nominantur....omnem civilem orationem in horum alterutro genere versari, aut de finita controversia certis temporibus ac rebus, hoc modo: ‘placeatne a Karthaginensibus captivos nostros redditis suis recuperari?’ aut infinite de universo genere quaerentis: ‘quid omnino de captivo statuendum ac sentiendum sit?’ atque horum superius illud genus causam aut controversiam appellant eamque tribus, lite aut deliberatione aut laudatione, definiunt: haec autem altera quaestio infinita et quasi proposita consultatio nominatur. Cf. ib. §§ 110—118, where many exx. are given. id. topic. § 79 quaestionum duo genera, alterum definitum, alterum infinitum. definitum est, quod ὑπόθεσιν Graeci, nos causam; infinitum, quod θέσιν illi appellant, nos propositum possumus nominare. exx. ib. §§ 80—86. id. de inv. I § 8. or. part. §§ 4. 61—68. 106. fin. IV § 6 Madvig. Suet. rhet. I p. 122 5 Reifferscheid. See the chapters περὶ θέσεως of Hermog. progymn. 11. Aphthon. 13. Theon 12. Philostr. s. II 6 the cos. Quadratus ἀποσχεδιάζων τὰς θετικὰς ὑποθέσεις. ib. 29 § 1 of Quirinus κομματίας ὁ σοφιστὴς οὗτος καὶ περὶ μὲν τὰ θετικὰ τῶν χωρίων οὐ πολὺς. August. rhet. §§ 5—6 pp. 139—141 Halm. Victorin. ib. pp. 176. 270. Sulp. Victor §§ 1—3. ib. p. 314. Martian. Capell. § 441. Isid. rhet. 12 § 2. 15 pp. 514—5 Halm. anon. ib. p. 585 17 seq. Volkmanu

21—22. 328. Cresol theatr. rhet. iv 6. Ernesti and HSt. *θέσεις*. See Zeller's index.

l. 2 QUIBUS not *et quibus*, the *quas* being correlative, the *quibus* simple relative. Cic. or. § 109 *histriones eos vidimus, quibus nihil posset in suo genere esse praestantius, qui non solum in dissimillimis personis satisfaciebant*. 'Non diversa est illa ratio, qua ex duobus adiectivis alterum substantivo suo inhaeret, cum eoque in unam notionem coit, alterum coniunctae huic notioni novum addit praedicatum, ut Cic. off. II c. 20 § 71 *bonus vir pauper*. Liv. xxiv 3 § 6 *columna aurea solida*.' HERBST. Krüger-Grotefend p. 747 cites Cic. de imp. Pomp. § 70 *testor...omnes deos et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentes...perspiciunt*. p. Deiot. § 38 *tuis litteris, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone...dedisti*. off. II § 81. Kühner on Tusc. I § 61.

QUIBUS CICERO IAM PRINCEPS IN RE PUBLICA EXERCERI SOLEBAT cf. XII 11 §§ 6—7. Cic. ad Qu. fr. III 3 § 4 *nostrum instituendi genus paullo eruditius et θετικώτερον* (declamatorium genus. ad Att. IX 4 (B.C. 49) *sed tamen ne me totum aegritudini dedam, sumpsi mihi quasdam tamquam θέσεις, quae et πολιτικαὶ sunt et temporum horum, ut et abducam animum ab querellis et in eo ipso, de quo agitur, exercear*. Then follow 11 Greek problems *εἰ μενετέον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένη* etc. in his ego me consultationibus exercens et disserens in utramque partem tum graece tum latine *et abduco parumper animum a molestiis et τῶν προῦργου τι delibero*. ib. 9 § 1 *σοφιστεύω...simul ut rus decurro, atque in decursu θέσεις meas commentari non desino*. Gesner notes that we have in the Paradoxa (April B.C. 46) a specimen of these *θέσεις*.

§ 12 l. 3 CONFINIS in this sense in Ov. Sen. and often in Quintil.

DESTRUCTIO ET CONFIRMATIO SENTENTIARUM 1 § 49 l. 21 n. 'Transfertur ad sententias et decreta ab hominibus proposita id quod usurpari proprie solebat de rebus narratis. narrationum enim proprie est *ἀνασκευὴ καὶ κατασκευή*.' SPALDING. 'sententia est decretum seu praeceptum seu iudicium de re. si igitur de re ipsa potest quaeri et in utramque partem disputari,

poterit etiam sententia de eadem lata vel defendi vel oppugnari. *destruere* in hac materia esse refutare, redarguere, non novum nostro, qui iam VIII 3 § 21 *destruere testem* dixerit.' GESNER. cf. v 7 §§ 25. 26. VII 3 § 19 *et nostra confirmanda est et adversae partis destruenda finitio*. Iul. Rufin. § 6 p. 61 14 Halm *ἀνασκευή* est... *figura, qua ab adversariis maxima proposita destruimus ac redarguimus velut falsa.....Latine dicitur destructio vel evacuatio.*

I. 5 DE IUDICIO REI i.e. sententia.

I. 6 LOCI COMMUNES § 13. II 1 § 9 *an ignoramus antiquis hoc fuisse ad augendam eloquentiam genus exercitationis, ut theses dicerent et communes locos et cetera citra complexum rerum personarumque, quibus verae fictaeque controversiae continentur?* ib. 4 §§ 22—23 *communes loci (de iis loquor, quibus citra personas in ipsa vitia moris est perorare, ut in adulterum, aleatorem, petulantem) ex mediis sunt iudicii et, si reum adicias, accusationes.*

QUOS ETIAM SCRIPTOS AB ORATORIBUS SCIMUS III 1 § 12 *horum primi communes locos tractasse dicuntur Protagoras, Gorgias.* II 1 §§ 10—12 *an non in foro narrandum est? quo in parte nescio an sit vel plurimum.* non communes loci, sive qui sunt in vitia directi, quales legimus a Cicerone compositos, seu quibus quaestiones generaliter tractantur, quales sunt editi a Quinto quoque Hortensio, ut *'sitne parvis argumentis credendum?'* et *'pro testibus'* et *'in testes'* in mediis litium medullis versantur? arma sunt haec quodammodo praeparanda semper, ut iis, cum res poscet, utare. ib. 4 § 27 *nam locos quidem, quales sunt de testibus 'semperne, his credendum' et de argumentis 'an habenda etiam parvis fides' adeo manifestum est ad forenses actiones pertinere, ut quidam neque ignobiles in officiis civilibus scriptos eos memoriaeque diligentissime mandatos in promptu habuerint, ut quotiens esset occasio, extemporales eorum dictiones his velut emblematis exornarentur.* ib. §§ 28—32. v 1 § 3. 7 § 24. 12 §§ 15—17. 13 § 19. ib. § 57 *et illi communes loci de testibus, de tabulis, de argumentis aliisque similibus magnam vim animis iudicum adferunt, et hi proprii, quibus factum quodque laudamus, aut contra iustum*

*vel iniustum docemus, maius aut minus, asperius aut mitius.* Cic. de or. III §§ 106—7 *consequentur etiam illi loci, qui quamquam proprii causarum et inhaerentes in earum nervis esse debent, tamen quia de universa re tractari solent, communes a veteribus nominati sunt; quorum partim habent vitiorum et peccatorum acrem quandam cum amplificatione incusationem aut querellam, contra quam dici nihil solet nec potest, ut in depeculatorem, in proditorem, in parricidam, quibus uti confirmatis criminibus oportet, aliter enim ieiuni sunt atque inanes; alii autem habent deprecationem aut miserationem; alii vero ancipites disputationes, in quibus de universo genere in utramque partem disseri copiose licet.* id. orat. § 126. de inv. II §§ 47—51. Brut. § 46 *scriptas fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum illustrium disputationes, quae nunc communes appellantur* loci. ad Herenn. II §§ 5. 13. 14. 22. 24. 26. 47—49. Cope 124—131. Ernesti κοινός. locus. Halm rhet. lat. ind. locus. Spengel rhet. gr. I 448—50. II 9—11 Hermog. progymn. 6 περὶ κοινοῦ τόπου. ib. 32—35 ὅρος κοινοῦ τόπου with κοινὸς τόπος κατὰ τυράννου. ib. 106—9 Theon περὶ τόπου. ib. III 470—7 Nikol. soph. progymn. 7 ὅρος κοινοῦ τόπου.

I. 7 HAEC RECTA TANTUM ET IN NULLIS FLEXUS RECEDENTIA I § 29 l. 21 n. The bare principles, not diversified by details of time and place, person and circumstance: they follow the straight path, turning aside neither to the right hand nor to the left.

I. 8 UTIQUE in any case, assuredly.

IN ILLIS PLURES EXCURSUS RECIPIENTIBUS concrete, actual, special cases, which allow of digressions of all kinds. III 9 § 4 *egressio vero vel, quod usitatus esse coepit, excessus, sive est extra causam, non potest esse pars causae, sive est in causa, adiutorium vel ornamentum partium est earum, ex quibus egreditur. Nam si quidquid in causa est, pars causae vocabitur, cur non argumentum, similitudo, locus communis, adfectus, exempla, partes vocentur?* IV 3 e.g. §§ 12—13 *hanc partem παρέκβασις* vocant Graeci, Latini egressum vel egressionem. *sed hae sunt plures, ut dixi, quae per totam causam varios habent excursus, ut laus hominum locorumque, ut descriptio*

regionum, expositio quarundam rerum gestarum vel etiam fabulosarum. quo ex genere est in orationibus contra Verrem compositis Siciliae laus, Proserpinae raptus, pro C. Cornelio popularis illa virtutum Cn. Pompei commemoratio: in quam ille divinus orator, velut nomine ipso ducis cursus dicendi teneretur, abrupto quem inchoaverat sermone devertit actutum.

l. 9 RECIPIENTIBUS 1 § 100. Bonnell s.v.

PARATUS 1 § 2 l. 12 n.

§ 13 l. 10 GENERALIBUS QUAESTIONIBUS § 11 l. 1 n. XII 2 § 18 cum sit autem omnis generalis quaestio speciali potentior, quia universo pars continetur. Martian. Cap. rhet. § 441 p. 454 Halm *e meis sectatoribus quidam acri admodum ac subtilissima ratione commoti nullam esse attestantur hypothesin* [= quaestionem specialem] *quaestionem*: cuncta, quae in defensione pro reis contraque eos in accusationibus retractantur, ad generales quaestiones poterunt applicari.

l. 11 CORNELIUS TRIBUNUS PLEBIS, QUOD CODICEM LEGERIT IV 3 § 13 cited above; ib. 4 § 8 *est et nuda propositio, qualis fere in coniecturalibus 'caedis ago, furtum obicio': est ratione subiecta, ut 'maiestatem minuit C. Cornelius: nam codicem tribunus pl. ipse pro contione legit.'* v 13 § 18 testes in Cornelium accusator lecti a tribuno codicis pollicetur: *facit hoc Cicero supervacuum, quia ipse fateatur.* § 26 if the accuser has brought a charge with great vehemence, the counsel for the defence must state the same thing in gentler terms, ut Cicero de Cornelio, 'codicem attigit.' vi 5 § 10 of Cic. *infinitem est enumerare, ut...* Cornelium ipsa confessionis fiducia eripuerit. vii 3 § 35. Fragments of the two speeches of Cic. for Cornelius, with argument and notes of Asconius, in Kayser-Baiter xi 7—20, where i fr. 14 *unum tamen, quod hoc ipso tribuno pl. factum est, praetermittendum non videtur: neque enim maius est legere codicem, cum intercedatur, quam sitellam ipsam cum ipso intercessore deferre.* C. Cornelius, quaestor of Pompeius, as trib. pl. B.C. 67 proposed various laws, by which he incurred the enmity of the senate, in particular

one against bribery. To counteract this the coss. M. Acilius Glabrio and C. Calpurnius Piso brought in a rival bill, which was carried before the election by a decree of the senate, though no law might legally be voted upon after the day of election had been fixed, until the election itself was over. Cornelius then proposed a bill, restoring the ancient rule, *ne quis nisi per populum legibus solveretur* (DCass. xxxvi 21. 22. Ascon. in Cic. p. Corn.). The senate won the tribune Qu. Servilius Globulus to oppose the proposal: on the day of the comitia Glaucus interrupted the crier as he was reading the law; on which Cornelius read it himself. Cic. in Vatin. § 5 *quaero a te, cur C. Cornelium non defenderem...codicem legisse dicebatur. defendebat testibus collegis suis non se recitandi causa legisse, sed recognoscendi. constabat tamen Cornelium concilium illo die dimisisse, intercessioni paruisse*. The cos. Piso protested against the neglect of Globulus' veto, but was received with jeers; the lictors' fasces were broken and Piso himself pelted; on this Cornelius dismissed the assembly. B.C. 66 the brothers P. and C. Cominius accused Cornelius of treason, but the praetor did not appear and the accusers were driven off by the mob. B.C. 65 C. Cominius renewed the accusation in a speech extant in the time of Asconius, cf. Cic. Brut. § 271. Five consulars supported the accusation, but as Cic. defended him, speaking on four days (Plin. ep. i 20 § 8. Ascon.), he was acquitted VM. viii 5 § 4. Quintil. viii 3 §§ 3—4 on the applause which greeted the speech. Cic. confessed the fact, but declared on the authority of Cornelius' colleagues that he read the law not to make it known (which would have been treason, as contempt of the veto of Globulus), but simply to collate the copy with the original. He also appealed to the character of the accused, and to his relations with Pompeius. Haakh in Pauly ii 696—7. Drumann ii 93—4. 611—5. v 353. 408. Q. Cic. pet. cons. §§ 19. 51. Schol. Bob. ad Cic. p. Sest. p. 315. Gesner cites Plut. Cat. min. 28 § 1. B.C. 62 Cato, then tribune, forbade the crier to read a law. Metellus took it and read, on which Cato snatched it out of his hand: Metellus repeated it by heart, on which Thermus ἐπέσχε τῇ χειρὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀπέκλεισεν. cf. DCass. xxxvii 43 § 2.

I. 12 RECTENE *om libri.* 'fort. rectene reus sit, ut est paulo post rectene occiderit, ac deinde honestene tradiderit.' HALM.

AN QUAERAMUS Gertz p. 136 reads *quaeramus an.* So already Gensler anal. ad edit. Quintil. Spalding. Coblenz 1822, p. 61.

I. 13 MILO CLODIUM RECTENE OCCIDERIT In Jan. u.c. 702 = Dec. B.C. 53 Clodius the bandit captain of the democratic party met T. Annius Milo Papianus his rival, the bravo of the senate, near Bovillae on the Appian way: their two bands fell to blows, Clodius was wounded and then by Milo's orders slain. Milo, though defended by Cic., was condemned (Apr. 702 = Mar. 52) by 38 out of 51 votes, and went into exile to Massilia. B.C. 46 he returned to Italy, where he met his death. Haakh in Pauly i<sup>2</sup> 1023—6. Fischer Zeittafeln 255—6. 259. Orell. onom. 39—41. Car. Guil. Elberling narratio de T. Annio Milone. Havniae 1840, 8vo. Suringar ann. Cic. 715. 717—8. Drumann i 43—52 and ind. s.v. *Annius*. DCass. XL 54. Plut. Cic. 35. The extant speech p. Mil. is very often cited (Halm. ind. to rhet. Lat. and to Quint.); the speech actually delivered was known to Asconius and to Quintil. iv 3 § 17 *Ciceroni quoque in prooemio, cum diceret pro Milone, degedi fuit necesse, ut ipsa orationacula, qua usus est, patet.*

Of the many allusions to the extant speech see III 5 § 10 *nescio an in causis quoque, quidquid in quaestionem venit qualitatis, generale sit.* Milo Clodium occidit, iure occidit insidiatorem: *nonne hoc quaeritur, an sit ius insidiatorem occidendi?* ib. 11 § 15 *quaestio qualitatis, an recte Clodium Milo occiderit: indicatio coniecturalis, an Clodius insidias fecerit.* ib. § 17. iv 2 § 25 *nisi forte M. Tullius in oratione pulcherrima, quam pro Milone scriptam reliquit, male distulisse narrationem videtur tribus propositis quaestionibus: aut profuisset exponere, quo modo insidias Miloni fecisset Clodius, si reum, qui a se hominem occisum fateretur, defendi omnino fas non fuisset.* ib. §§ 57—8. v 2 § 1. vi 3 § 49. 5 § 10. vii 1 §§ 34—7. 2 § 45. 4 § 8. xi 1 § 40. i § 23 l. 28 n. Brutus wrote a speech for Milo as an exercise, *etiamsi egisse eum Cornelius Celsus falso existimat.*

L. 14 OPORTEATNE INSIDIATOREM INTERFICI VEL PERNICIOSUM REI PUBLICAE CIVEM, ETIAMSI NON INSIDIETUR Cic. p. Mil. § 6 *nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Clodio factas, nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa praeclara in rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodi salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati assignetis.* ib. § 10 *insidiatori vero et latroni quae potest inferri iniusta nex?* ib. §§ 27—32, 47—57, 71—7.

L. 16 CATO MARCIAM HONESTENE TRADIDERIT HORTENSIO III 5 § 11 *quidam putant etiam eas θέσεις posse aliquando nominari, quae personis causisque contineantur, aliter tantummodo positas, ut causa sit, cum Orestes accusatur, thesis an Orestes recte sit absolutus: cuius generis est, an Cato recte Marciam Hortensio tradiderit.* Munatius, a friend of Cato's (in Plut. Cato min. 25), gave this account. Hortensius first asked leave of Cato to marry for a time his daughter Porcia, wife of Bibulus; when Cato refused, he asked for Cato's wife Marcia. Cato referred him to her father Philippus, who gave his consent and Cato gave her away. Hortensius left his property to her and Cato again married her; for her wealth, as Caesar said (ib. 52). Luc. II 326—370. App. b. c. II 99. Strabo 515, who calls such a loan a Roman usage; so Plut. comp. Lycurgi et Numae 3 § 2, but it is always spoken of with abhorrence. Tert. apol. 39 contrasting the Christian rule *omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxores*, with the licence of heathen, *qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis patientissime subministrant; ex illa, credo, maiorum et sapientissimorum disciplina, Graeci Socratis et Romani Catonis, qui uxores suas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant liberorum causa et alibi creandorum, nescio quidem an invitas. quid enim de castitate curarent, quam mariti tam facile donaverant? o sapientiae Atticae, o Romanae gravitatis exemplum: lenones philosophus et censor* (a mistake)! Hier. adv. Iovinian. I 46. II 7. Aug. de fide et oper. 7 = 10. de bono coniugali 18 = 21 fin. c. Iulian. v 12 = 46. Salvian. gubern. VII § 103.

l. 17 DE PERSONIS IUDICATUR, SED DE REBUS CONTENDITUR  
if it is on persons that sentence is passed, the controversy is  
one of principles.

§ 14 l. 18 DECLAMATIONES 2 § 12. II 10. ib. 4 § 41 *fictus*  
*ad imitationem fori consiliorumque materias apud Graecos dicere*  
*circa Demetrium Phalerea institutum fere constat.* Obbar on  
Hor. ep. I 2 2.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

## NOTES ON THE MSS. OF PRUDENTIUS.

Considering the number and age of the MSS. of Prudentius, it is strange that they have not claimed more notice from palaeographical students, and still stranger that none of the many editors of the poet have at all thoroughly investigated the subject of the tradition of the text. Dressel it is true examined a fair number of MSS., and Heinsius before him had shown his usual diligence; but still neither of them attempted any classification, and had the MSS. possessed no extrinsic interest the attempt might still have been left unmade. As it was, however, the presence of old German glosses in a large number of MSS. of German origin incited Steinmeyer to make a study of those particular MSS. But his work was limited and the real credit of attempting anything like a general classification rests with Stettiner, whose work on the illustrated MSS. of Prudentius contains besides a thorough investigation of the illustrated MSS. a mass of information especially on the German MSS., which must serve as the basis for all future research on the question.

To summarize Stettiner's results. He proves from the illustrations that there are two main groups of the MSS.: the best a French and English group, the other a German group, more numerous but less faithful to the original. They show by their common mistakes and misinterpretations of the text as well as by their general agreement that they are derived from the same archetype; and that archetype to judge from the classicisms, reminding one of the art of the Vatican Vergil, which

are preserved mainly in the French and English group, must have been of early date, probably of the vth century. But we cannot leap directly from this vth century archetype to the existing MSS. Obviously each of the two groups must have had a separate ancestor descended from that archetype; and, that these two intermediate archetypes were not actual copies of the vth century MS., Stettiner has proved from the descriptive headings attached to the illustrations. These descriptive headings cannot have been in the original illustrated archetype, because while the painter must in all probability have understood what his own picture represented, the writer of the headings, perhaps excusably, did not always understand it. For example there is an illustration to *Psych.* 316 representing *Luxuria* when

“*tepentia linquens*  
*pocula lapsanti per uina et balsama gressu*  
*ebria calcatis ad bellum floribus ibat.*”

The painter made the tottering figure look as though it were running, and so we get the heading “*Luxuria currit.*” We have then to assume a vth century archetype with illustrations, and a copy of this with descriptive headings added, and yet another stepping stone is required before we reach the immediate archetypes of our MSS.; for not only has the writer of the headings misunderstood the painter, but a subsequent painter has misunderstood the writer of the headings. For example, after l. 480 the original painter gave a picture of *Avaritia* striking her victims blind; the heading-writer added a heading, “*Avaritia sternit plurimos*”; and a subsequent painter interpreting the “*sternit*” more literally represented a physical overthrow\*. At last the links are complete and we arrive at the immediate archetypes of the two classes of MSS.; one of which at any rate cannot be later than about the end of the

\* Stettiner appears to take the three steps in three different MSS.; of course one of these three may be omitted if we assume that the headings were

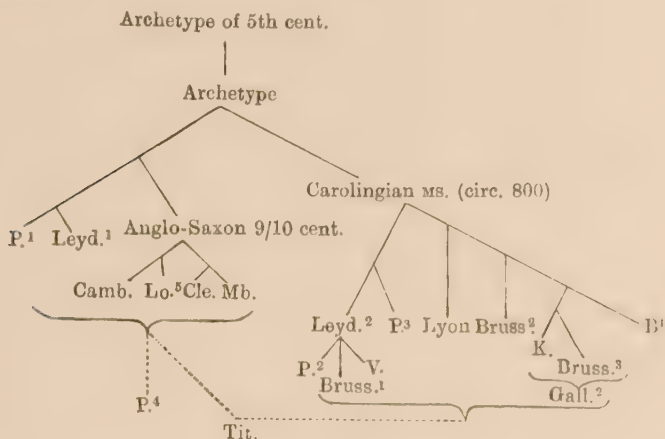
added in the original MS. after the painting of the pictures and not by the painter himself.

viii<sup>th</sup> century, as B\*, the earliest ms. of the German class, dates from the ix<sup>th</sup> century.

\* The following mss. will be found mentioned in this article some from Dressel's edition, some from Stettiner's book, and some from my own collations.

|                   |                                                                                                                          |                    |                                                           |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| W                 | = Brit. Mus. Add. 34,248 (Dressel's Widmannianus) (s xi)                                                                 | Om                 | St Omer 306 (s x)                                         |
| Lo <sup>2</sup>   | Brit. Mus. Add. 15,090 (s xi)                                                                                            | Boul               | Boulogne 189 (s xi)                                       |
| Lo <sup>3</sup>   | " 16,894 (s xi)                                                                                                          | Duss               | Düsseldorf F. 1 (s xi)                                    |
| Lo <sup>4</sup>   | " 15,601 (s x-xi)                                                                                                        | K                  | Köln Dombibl. 81 (s x-xi)                                 |
| Lo <sup>5</sup>   | " 24,199 (s xi)                                                                                                          | Stutt              | Stuttgart poet. 6 (s xii)                                 |
| Harl <sup>2</sup> | Harley 3093 (s xii)                                                                                                      | Rat                | Mon. Lat. 14995 (s x)                                     |
| Harl <sup>3</sup> | " 3023 (s xii)                                                                                                           | Rat <sup>2</sup>   | " 13241 (A.D. 1519)                                       |
| Harl <sup>5</sup> | " 3872 (A.D. 1303)                                                                                                       | Rat <sup>3</sup>   | " 13108 (s xii)                                           |
| Tit               | Cotton. Titus. D. XVI (s xi-xii)                                                                                         | Al                 | " 2622 (s xiii)                                           |
| Burn              | Burney 247 (A.D. 1464)                                                                                                   | Ben <sup>1</sup>   | " 4622 (s xi)                                             |
| Cle               | Cotton. Cleopatra VIII (s xi)                                                                                            | Ben <sup>2</sup>   | " 4622 (s xiii)                                           |
| Or                | Oriel Coll. III at Oxford (s xi)                                                                                         | Eb <sup>1</sup>    | " 5933 (s xv)                                             |
| Trin              | Trin. Coll. XII (s xii)                                                                                                  | Sal                | " 15962 (s xii)                                           |
| H                 | Bodl. Auct. T. 2. 22 (Heilsbronnensis), (s x)                                                                            | Teg <sup>2</sup>   | " 19991 (A.D. 1466)                                       |
| O                 | Bodl. Auct. F. 5. 3 (s xi)                                                                                               | M                  | " 18922 (s x)                                             |
| Can               | Can. Lat. 124 (s xiv)                                                                                                    | M <sup>2</sup>     | " 475 (s xi)                                              |
| Dorv              | D'Orville 183 (s xii)                                                                                                    | Ma                 | " 29031 (s xii)                                           |
| Camb              | Cambridge, Corpus Christi 23 (I have not seen the ms., but have used a collation of the Psych. among the D'Orville mss.) | Mb                 | " 29031 (s x)                                             |
| Put               | Paris Lat. 8084 (s vi)                                                                                                   | Mc                 | " 29031 (s xii)                                           |
| T                 | " 8087 (s x)                                                                                                             | Gall <sup>1</sup>  | St Gallen 134 (s x)                                       |
| P <sup>1</sup>    | " 8318 (s xi)                                                                                                            | Gall <sup>2</sup>  | " 135 (s x-xi)                                            |
| P <sup>2</sup>    | " 8085 (s x)                                                                                                             | Gall <sup>3</sup>  | " 136 (s x)                                               |
| P <sup>3</sup>    | " 18554 (s ix-x)                                                                                                         | Rh                 | Rheinau 62 (at Zürich) (s xiii)                           |
| P <sup>4</sup>    | " 15158 (A.D. 1284)                                                                                                      | Z                  | Zürich c. 164 (s xi)                                      |
| P <sup>5</sup>    | " 8086 (s x)                                                                                                             | Ein <sup>1</sup>   | Einsiedeln 312 (s x)                                      |
| P <sup>6</sup>    | " 8088 (s xii)                                                                                                           | Ein <sup>2</sup>   | " 316 (s x)                                               |
| P <sup>7</sup>    | " 8305 (s x)                                                                                                             | Ein <sup>3</sup>   | " 15 (s x)                                                |
| P <sup>8</sup>    | " 8306 (s xi)                                                                                                            | Ein <sup>4</sup>   | " 302 (s x)                                               |
| P <sup>9</sup>    | " 8307 (s xi)                                                                                                            | B <sup>1</sup>     | Berne 264 (s ix)                                          |
| P <sup>10</sup>   | Nouv. Acq. Lat. 241 (s xi-xii)                                                                                           | B <sup>2</sup>     | " 394 (s x)                                               |
| P <sup>11</sup>   | Paris Lat. 2335 (s xii)                                                                                                  | B <sup>4</sup>     | " 279 (s xii)                                             |
| P <sup>14</sup>   | " 8309 (s xii)                                                                                                           |                    | <i>Stettiner's</i>                                        |
| P <sup>20</sup>   | " 13026 (s ix)                                                                                                           | Leyd <sup>1</sup>  | Univ. Bibl. cod. Voss. Lat. 15 (s x)                      |
| Maz               | Bibl. Mazarine 3858 (s xiv)                                                                                              | Leyd <sup>2</sup>  | Univ. Bibl. cod. Burmann Q 3 (s x) = Dressel's Egmondanus |
| Troy              | Troyes 1610 (s xv)                                                                                                       | Bruss <sup>1</sup> | Brussels 9987-91 (s xi)                                   |
| D                 | Douai 290 (s xii)                                                                                                        | Bruss <sup>2</sup> | " 10066-73 (s x)                                          |
|                   |                                                                                                                          | Bruss <sup>3</sup> | " 9968-72 (s xi)                                          |
|                   |                                                                                                                          | V                  | Valenciennes 563 (s xi)                                   |
|                   |                                                                                                                          | Lyon               | 22 (s xi-xii)                                             |
|                   |                                                                                                                          | Kiel               | Univ. Bibl.                                               |
|                   |                                                                                                                          | Vienna             | 171                                                       |
|                   |                                                                                                                          | "                  | 247 and one or two others.                                |
|                   |                                                                                                                          |                    | <i>Dressel's</i>                                          |
|                   |                                                                                                                          |                    | a. a. b. i. n. q. β. c. e. θ. l. m. r. o. w.              |
|                   |                                                                                                                          |                    | N. Prag. Boh. I. II. Weiss. T2rr.                         |

So Stettiner proceeds to draw up a "stemma codicum," including all the illustrated MSS.



Turning now to the MSS. and applying the test suggested by Stettiner, that of the order of the poems, we find that they group themselves into two classes according as the *Peristephanon* is placed next to or apart from the *Cathemerinon*; and these two classes are again subdivided by lesser variations in order. The oldest MS., the viith century Puteanus, may at once be excluded from this classification, as, being without illustrations, it cannot be the archetype of the illustrated MSS., nor yet does it appear to be a copy of it\*. In it the order of what remains is *Cath. Apoth. Ham. Psych. Per. I.-V.*

(a) MSS. in which the *Per.* is separated from the *Cath.*

(1) *Praef. Cath. Ap. Ham. Ps. Sym. I. II. Per. 10. 1. 2. 3. 5. 4. 14. 6. 7. 9. 8. 11. 12. 13. Epil. Ditt.*

Here we find a group of French MSS. *Boh. I. T. P.7 Om.*, and *Dressel's a* the nationality of which is not stated; it is now Cod. Alex. 321 in the Vatican and so very probably came from Queen Christina's collection. Apparently also, judging from the entries in the catalogues, *Arras 670 and D'Avanches 241.*

(2) *Praef. Cath. Ap. Ham. Ps. Per. 10. 1-9. 11-14. Sym. I. II. Ditt. Ep.*

This group consists of English MSS. *Camb. Boul.\* O.*

(β) MSS. in which the Per. follows the Cath.

(1) Praef. Cath. 1-10. Per. 1. 5. 2. 11. 13. 12. 4. 14. 3. 6. 7. 9. 8. 10. Cath. 11-12. Ep. Ditt. Apoth. Ham. Ps. Sym. I. II. After Per. 14 verses on Agnes by Constantine and Damasus are usually inserted.

Here are b. m. i. W. Rat. Rat.<sup>2</sup> (Ps. after Sym.), Rat.<sup>3</sup> N. Berl. Ein.<sup>2</sup> Kiel Lo.<sup>2,3</sup> Prag. Gall.<sup>1,2,3</sup> Vienna 171. 247. Z. Laur. XXIII. M. P.<sup>6,10</sup> Rh. (Cath. 11. 12 after Sym.). Or. Trin.

Almost all of these are German and Swiss MSS., though the first three are presumably Italian, and the last two are English.

(2) The same order except that Cath. 11 and 12 are put in their proper place after Cath. 10. Stettiner has shown this group to be only a subdivision of the last, as in one of its representatives Bruss.<sup>3</sup>, at the end of the Per., occur the words "Finit Cathemerinon," and at the end of the Epilogus "Finit Peristephanon." Much the same is the case with K, where at the end of the Per. "Felici dat finem KAΘHMHTNON" is written. The group comprises K. B.<sup>1</sup> Bruss.<sup>3</sup> u. Maz. (Ditt. after Psych.).

(3) Praef. Cath. 1-10. Per. 1. 5. 4. 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 2. 3. 10. Cath. 11. 12. Ap. Ham. Ps. Sym. I. II. Ditt. Ep.

This order is found in a. P<sup>2,5,8,11</sup> Harl.<sup>3,5</sup> † Burn. B.<sup>2</sup> Leyd.<sup>2</sup> (= Egmondanus). Bruss.<sup>1</sup> H† Stutt. (om. Psych. and Ditt. pre-

\* Boul.'s English origin is indicated by the large number of English glosses, which have been printed by A. Holder. It contains a shelf mark—De Libraria S. Bertini no. 668, but can hardly as Stettiner suggests be the ms. referred to in the old xii<sup>th</sup> century catalogue (v. Becker, *Catalogi bibl. ant.* p. 184 "198-200 Prudentii sichomachia III. 201, 2 Prudentii hymnorum II. 203, 4 Prudentii et Simachi II.") as it does not contain the Psychomachia.

† An examination of H proves that it is the Heilsbronnensis of Wertz. It came to the Bodleian from the Meerman

collection. It contains a few German

|              |                        |                 |                       |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
|              |                        | habensterro     |                       |
| glosses fol. | 22 l. 1,               | hespero.        | 34 <sup>v</sup> l. 8, |
|              |                        | saporistro      |                       |
| I'zur        |                        | I' saporo       |                       |
| cratem.      | 56 l. 2,               | supremo.        | 82 l. 2,              |
| iuchit       |                        | skebit          | kelca                 |
| prurit.      | 1. 3,                  | scalpit.        | 1. 6, strumas.        |
|              |                        | agath           | samboh                |
| 94 l. 17,    |                        | lapis nigellus. | essedo. 98 l. 5,      |
| kella        |                        | amban l' uanst  |                       |
| trulla.      | 115 <sup>v</sup> l. 7, | abdomina.       |                       |

Harl.<sup>5</sup> appears to be a copy of this ms.; as both have at the beginning "Incipit ymnarius de tempore et sanetis per totum annum et tamen pauci canuntur et dicitur liber iste

cedes Apoth.). Troy. (om. Psych. and Ap. Ham. Sym. i. ii. come at the beginning).

A glance at this classification shows that it supports Stettiner's stemma; there is a French family with an English one in close alliance with it, and opposed to these a German family. Into these groups fall the other partial MSS. of which a large number, especially of MSS. of the Psychomachia, exist. The division is also supported by characteristic readings, for example after *Ap.* 937 in many MSS. of  $\beta$ , the German class, follows the verse

quid peccatorum prosapia corpore in illo. B.<sup>1</sup> Z. Rh. Prag., Rat. Rat. <sup>2</sup> M. Gall.<sup>2</sup> K. Ein.<sup>2</sup> Troy. Maz. P.<sup>6-9, 10</sup> Lo.<sup>3</sup> W. Stutt. Dorv. D. Gall.<sup>3</sup> (al. man.) Duss.\* (al. man. in marg.). Ein.<sup>1</sup> (in marg.). Weiss. b. m. q.

Other readings peculiar to this family are

*Cath.* ix. 85. cedis stupendae K. M. Prag. Rat. Rat.<sup>2 3</sup> Gall.<sup>1, 2, 3</sup> Z. Rh. B.<sup>1</sup> Maz. P.<sup>9, 10</sup> Lo.<sup>2, 3</sup> Harl.<sup>5</sup> W. Teg.<sup>2</sup> Ein.<sup>2</sup> H (ex corr.) Ein.<sup>1</sup> (pro var. lee.). Stutt. (pro var. lee.) Duss. (ex corr.) b. i.

*Ham. praef.* 43. It is only MSS. of this group which insert the line

hic qui caduci rem laboris offerens K. M.<sup>2</sup> Prag. Rat. Rat.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> que

B.<sup>1</sup> Troy. Z (hic qui) and T (in marg. al. man.).

prudencius, sive liber aurelii prudencii." At the end of the Prudentius on the same page in a different hand is written a licence to "Petrus piscator de Wensdorf" granted by "Leopoldus dei gratia Ep. Bab. (i.e. Bamberg). Datum Babb. anno domini milles. ccciii. vi. Idus Junii." Both MSS. contain only the Cath. and Per.

\* Duss. is hard to group from the large number of corrections: it appears to have been written from one ms. and corrected by a more or less contemporary hand from another. In order it is eccentric; the order being Praef. Cath. Ap. Ham. Ps. Sym. i. ii. Per. 10. 1. 5. 2. 11. 13. 12. 4. 3. 6. 7. 9.

Ep. Ditt.: this also looks like a combination of mss. of the two different families.

Ein.<sup>1</sup> seems to be much in the same boat; unfortunately I either did not take, or lost note of its exact order, but the catalogue gives it as "Praef. Cath. Ap. Ham. Ps. Sym. i. ii. Per." ending abruptly at x. 524. The order of the Per. is probably that of the German class, in which Per. x. comes last, as I have noted variants from all the hymns of the Per. It occasionally however contains readings which do not belong to the German class, e.g. Ps. 331, subliſo, Camb. Ein.<sup>1</sup> Harl. (in ras.). Cle.

or

qui caduci etc. M. Lo.<sup>3</sup> Rat.<sup>3</sup> Gall.<sup>2</sup> P.<sup>9</sup> Ein.<sup>2</sup> Rh. Eb.<sup>1</sup> (in marg.) Duss. (al. man. in marg.). m.

*Ham.* 858. The verses *ast aliae quas dira lues* etc. are only found in MSS. of this family Duss. Ein.<sup>2</sup>, K. Ein.<sup>1</sup> (in marg.). Gall.<sup>3</sup> (in marg.). B<sup>1.2</sup> Rat. T 2rr. m. Boh. II. Prag.

B<sup>2</sup> adds a note "Hi versus...additi, ut videtur nonnullis nec continentur in emendationibus libris."

*Psych. Praef.* 1. uia est. B.<sup>1</sup> K. Stutt. M. Rat. Rat.<sup>2.3</sup> Ein.<sup>1</sup> Rh. Z. Gall.<sup>2.3</sup> Sal. Al. Ben.<sup>2</sup> Lo.<sup>5</sup> Maz. W. Ein.<sup>4</sup> (al. man.) P.<sup>10.12.14</sup> m.; though here many of the Italian MSS.  $\beta$ .  $\delta$ . i. c. e.  $\theta$ . g. l. o. r. w.\* Can. and one or two English MSS. Cambr. Tit. Bodl.<sup>2</sup> and two French D. Bodl. support the reading.

*Psych. Praef.* 63. Parente natus alto et ineffabili. B.<sup>1</sup> W.  
l' imo  
Erf. Rat. Rat.<sup>3.5</sup> M. Ben.<sup>1</sup> K. (alto). Al. Sal. Gall.<sup>2</sup> Z. Rh. Ein.<sup>1</sup> (in ras.). Maz. Can. Gall.<sup>3</sup> P.<sup>14</sup> (ab alto) P.<sup>6</sup> Ein.<sup>4</sup> (in ras.). Lo.<sup>1.3</sup> Harl.<sup>4</sup>  $\beta$ . c. e.  $\theta$ . l. m. o. r. w. and Put.

Another distinctive feature of this German family is that a large number of its members give headings to the divisions of the *Psychomachia*, distinct from the descriptions of the pictures (Rat. Rat.<sup>2.3</sup> M. Berl. Hamilton 542. Vienna. Sal. Mc. Rh. Ein.<sup>1.3.4</sup> Gall.<sup>2</sup> W. B.<sup>4</sup> Lo.<sup>3.4</sup> Duss. B. O. P.<sup>6</sup> and P.<sup>10</sup>, though in this last MS. the headings are longer and different). Others again give headings to the sections of the first book against Symmachus (Rat. Rat.<sup>2.3</sup> M. M.<sup>2</sup> m. P.<sup>6.9.10</sup> Lo.<sup>3</sup> W. Ben. Duss. Gall.<sup>2.3</sup> K. Z. Rh. Stutt., and the English MSS. Or. Trin. O.). And if any link besides the presence of K. B. and Gall.<sup>2</sup> in both were necessary for the connection of this German family with the illustrated German family of Stettiner's stemma, it would be furnished by the descriptions appended to the pictures, which also occur in a number of unillustrated MSS. of this class (e.g. Duss. Rat.<sup>2.3</sup> W. B.<sup>2</sup> Mc. P.<sup>6.10</sup> Can. and Harl.<sup>2</sup>). All of these correspond to the headings of Stettiner's second class, while on

\* J. Bergman believes f. g. l. o.  $\beta$ . w. Aug. to be derived from c which is itself a copy of Monte Cassino 374 (s. ix.-x. Lombardic). The order in

Cass. is Ap. 188 foll. Ps. Sym. i. ii. Per. 10. 2. 3. 8. 9. 14. 4. Cath. 2. 12. Praef. Cath. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Per. 1. 5. 6. 7. 13. 12 Ditt.

the contrary those in Harl. Harl.<sup>6</sup> and Bodl.<sup>2</sup> correspond to those of the first, the French and English, class.

A most useful clue to the subdivision of this German family is furnished by the German glosses which occur in many of its representatives, and have been carefully studied by Steinmeyer\*. According to his view some few of the MSS. derive their glosses directly from a 'glosa'; these are B. Ein.<sup>3,4</sup> and Gall.<sup>3</sup>, all Swiss MSS., Gall.<sup>1</sup>, another Swiss MS., being closely connected: and this glosa is preserved in Prag. Lo.<sup>3</sup> (from St Peter in Salzburg), and its copy Gottweih. Apart from this glosa, the glosses in our MSS. fall into two groups, a Bavarian family, comprising Prag. and Rat., which are closely connected: Kiel and M (from Tegernsee), also closely connected: Lo.<sup>2</sup> Gott. Vienna 247 (from the monastery Weichenstephan near Freising): and an Allemannic family. To this Allemannic family belong K. Bruss. 9968, Bruss. 9981, Wolfenbüttel Aug. 56. 18 (from Hildesheim), Rh. Z. Ein.<sup>2</sup>; and W and Laur. xvi. 5, which both show traces of influence from the Bavarian class, and are closely connected; also two gloss books, one at Karlsruhe (from St Peter in Schwarzwald), and the other at St Gallen (294). Steinmeyer accounts for the difference in dialect in the glosses of this family by supposing that a MS. closely akin to Ein.<sup>2</sup> and Z, and more distantly related to Rh, wandered along the Rhine, copies being taken at various places which show their birthplace by their Middle (e.g. Bruss. 9968 from Trier, and Wolf.) or Low (e.g. K. Bruss. 9987) German dialect: for the original home he would look to an Allemannic monastery, and suggests St Gallen. But Stettiner objects that in the 9th century catalogue of St Gallen is entered only one Prudentius, and that identical with the Bernensis (B<sup>1</sup>): so he prefers to assume Reichenau, whence he believes the originals of many St Gallen and Einsiedeln MSS. to be derived.

Of course it does not always necessarily follow that text and glosses were derived from the same MS.: indeed Stettiner shows that Bruss. 9981 is a copy of Leyd.<sup>2</sup>, which has no glosses, and so must derive its glosses from another MS. The assumption however probably holds good in the majority of cases and there need be no hesitation in accepting Steinmeyer's results,

\* Zeitschrift für deutsch. Alterth. Bd 16.

especially as they are attested by an examination of the textual variants. A glance at Dressel's apparatus criticus shows how closely connected are Prag. Rat. and m (e.g. Ham. 892, *expertos ...visus*); and several other MSS. show a very close connection

with Rat. Take for example I. Sym. 77. <sup>l' concumbere</sup> concumbere] concingere  
Rat. P.<sup>10</sup> concingere P.<sup>6</sup> M.<sup>2</sup> Rat.<sup>2,3</sup>

78. <sup>l' fieri</sup> fieri] serere Rat.<sup>2,3</sup> P.<sup>10</sup> Rat.

169. <sup>l' lis</sup> mortalis obire] mortale subire Rat. Rat.<sup>2</sup> P.<sup>10</sup>

171. <sup>l' iuli</sup> uili M. Rat. P.<sup>10</sup>

323. <sup>l' tractu</sup> tractu] cursu Rat. P.<sup>10</sup> cursu M.<sup>2</sup>

Of these MSS. Rat.<sup>2</sup> and M.<sup>2</sup> appear to be copies of Rat. (cf. Ham. 129. *ferus*] *severus* Rat. Rat.<sup>2</sup> M.<sup>2</sup>

I. Sym. 318. <sup>b a</sup> preuiore /// placeat terram Rat. preuiore (brev-Rat.<sup>2</sup>) terram placeat M.<sup>2</sup> Rat.<sup>2</sup>).

Whereas M. and P.<sup>10</sup>, though closely connected with Rat., and still more closely connected with one another, do not seem to be actual copies, cf. Ham. 485, where they read

fragar hosticus arietis aut uis  
concutit impacta aut aerato machina rostro  
/. uis impacta quatit non aerea machina rostro.  
arietat etc.

The line which is underlined in both MSS. is not found in Rat.

K and Z prove their common origin by retaining a list of city names in Latin with a German translation, among which is an obscure Swiss town Zurzach; Gall.<sup>2</sup> Ein.<sup>1,2</sup> and P.<sup>9</sup> all give Per. xi. 123 in capital letters; while another group Ein.<sup>1,2</sup> Z. Rh. Stutt. Lo.<sup>2,3</sup> and a MS. on the Libri sale-catalogue of 1859 all have the initial of Cath. i. i. in the form of a cock. The two English MSS. Or. and Trin. alone show considerable divergencies from this family (it will be noticed that neither appears in the characteristic readings of the family cited above) and seem in spite of the order of the poems to belong to the same class as the other English MSS. Boul. O. Camb.

The group  $\beta$  (2) shows no noticeable divergence from the ordinary German class and one of its representatives K has been shown to have a close connection with the Swiss ms. Z. The same ms. also occasionally shares readings peculiar to Rat. and its near relatives (e.g. Ham. 710 *uolens illud magis utile retur* Rat. M. M.<sup>2</sup> K. 2m against the *uolens, magis utile dum sibi credit* of the other mss.).

The third group  $\beta$  (3) is much more difficult to place. Its internal connection as a group is proved by various test passages such as

*Per.* x. 842. *ictu et sanguine*] *ictum uulneris* P.<sup>2.5.8.11</sup> Harl.<sup>3</sup> Burn.\* Troy. B.<sup>2</sup> A. R. a.

*Per.* x. 815. *tenuis fies*] *fumans eris* P.<sup>2.5.8.11</sup> Harl.<sup>3.5</sup> Burn.  
P<sup>1</sup> *tenuis fies*

A. E. P. R. W. (in marg.). a. q. *fumans eris* B.<sup>2</sup> H. D. and Stutt.

But these mss. often side with the French and English class against the German e.g. II. *Sym.* 478. *esse*] *nosse*. Harl. Or. Dorv. Troy. D. B.<sup>2</sup> Boul. P.<sup>2.5.6.7.20</sup> Om. T.

So that they seem to form a kind of connecting link between the two families; the two German mss. H and Stutt., the latter of which is late and of no textual value, lean somewhat more than the rest to the ordinary German class. P.<sup>5</sup> on the other hand often shows a striking resemblance to Put.; for example it alone shares with Put. the reading *uis ac potestas una* (Cath. VI. 6) except for some mss. in which it has been introduced as a variant. Again Cath. III. 100. Put. o. and P.<sup>5</sup> alone read *ore animam dedit ex proprio*, though the same reading is a variant in a. P.<sup>6</sup> Still more conclusive is the omission of *Per.* IV. 102-105 in which it and Put. are alone.

Turning now to the other class of mss., of which the characteristic features are that they do not combine the Cath. and *Per.*, and that they put *Per.* x. before the other hymns of the *Per.*, treating it as a separate book, we find that they show far fewer variants from Dressel's text. In all the passages cited as characteristic of the German group they preserve the opposite, and usually correct, reading; and it is in mss. of this group

\* Burn. is a French ms. to judge from the entry "*Caelestinorum de Marcossinco*."

that the readings "uirtus et uidua est" (Ps. 177) for the "nam uidua est" of the German family, and "foedatur" (Ps. 414) for their "foedat humi," are preserved. As regards their subdivision into two classes, a French and English, the English group Camb. Boul. O, with which, in spite of their external agreement in order with the German MSS., Or. and Trin. must be reckoned, may be distinguished from the French by such readings as

Cath. x. 28. igneoli O. Or. Trin. Boul. Harl.\* and P.<sup>5</sup> (pro var. lect.).

III. 134. piger euomit O. Or. Trin.

VI. 137. o] om. O. Or. Trin. (add. sup.) u.

IX. 45. et stans O. Or. Trin.

X. 165. illud O. Or. Trin. u.

Per. II. 542. ornare res impias numae

orare simpuium numae. O. Boul. P.<sup>5</sup> (l' ornare) and Or. P.<sup>6</sup>, in both of which the last line is crossed out.

A comparison of the readings of the Aldine edition with those of this class leaves no doubt that it was a MS. of this class on which the text of the edition was based; and the words of the preface "Prudentius...ab usque Britannis accitus" are no empty boast. e.g.

Per. XII. 44. cum] om. Or. Ald.

48. quis Or. Trin. Ald.

But still there is no such great distinction between the two groups, French and English, as prevents us from referring them to the same archetype; indeed their general agreement against the German group is strong proof of their close connection, and it is supported by minor links between their representatives. Camb. and D† for instance share the reading ensibus for sensibus in the verses inserted after Ps. 727, though in D it is only an alternative reading.

\* Harl. is a French MS. "Coll. Agen. Socie. Jesu, Cala. Inscríp.," and appears to belong to the ordinary French group, though its order is very strange. "Praef. Cath. 1—10. Per. 1. 5. Cath. 11. 12. Ap. to v. 690. Ham. 528—966. Per. 10. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13.

14. Sym. I. 548 to end of Sym. II. Ditt. Epil. Ps."

† D seems to fluctuate between the family β (3) and the ordinary French family: its order is Cath. 1—12. Per. 1. 5. 4. 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 2. 3. 10. Sym. I. II. Ditt. Ap. Ham. Ps.

A division into books is characteristic of this family: *a*. T and the MS. at Arras, and also a "vetus codex" collated in the margin of a copy of Giselinus' edition which belonged to C. Puteanus, and is now at Paris, speak of "Prudentii libri nouem" counting the "Romanus" Per. 10 as a separate book: Boh. 1 and the MS. at D'Avranches mention 8 books; and D only 7: the only other MS. containing this numeration is B which likewise only counts 7. But though a complete numeration is found in this group alone, a partial numeration is found in mss. of various families. Oldest is the numbering of the three hexameter poems Ap. Ham. Ps. as "lib. I. II. III.," which is found in Put. itself; not indeed as a formal heading to the books, but written across the top margin of each page throughout the three poems,—apparently in the handwriting of the 'glossator,' that is to say in all probability of Mavortius. Outside Put. this numeration occurs in a complete form in Monte Cassino 374, Camb. and Ambr. in which however the Apoth. is not numbered: in Troy B.<sup>2</sup> P.<sup>8</sup> Rat.<sup>3</sup> (at the end of the book) Leyd.<sup>2</sup> and b the Apoth. is called "Liber I.": in Vienna 171. Kiel. Boul. P.<sup>6.7.8</sup> Rh. Gall.<sup>3</sup> Trin. O. Harl. B.<sup>2</sup> (at the end) the Ham. "Liber II.": in Gall.<sup>3</sup> the Psych. "Liber III.," while in *a* there is a mistake at the end of the Ham. (Finit Amartigenia Lib. III. Incipit Psychomachia Lib. IIII.) but at the end of the Psych. it is corrected (Finit liber III. Psychomachia). In M. and Berlin Hamilton 542, both German mss., occurs the more unusual phrase "Finit de amartigenia liber D" (= deuterus?); others again have, "Incipit liber unus amartigenia" B.<sup>2</sup> P.<sup>2</sup> K.

In contrast to this numeration may be mentioned that of the Cath. and Per. as books I. and II. which could of course only occur in mss. in which the Per. immediately follows the Cath. e.g. "Liber Primus Cathemerinon" and "Incipit liber secundus Per." in B. Rat. Rat.<sup>2</sup> Vienna 3278: "Liber I." as heading to Cath. in Stutt.: "Finit liber primus ymnorum (de ymnis). Incipit liber secundus peristephanon". Rat. b. i. "Incipit liber secundus Peristephanon" Kiel. Lo.<sup>3</sup> Vienna 171 and 247. Ein.<sup>2</sup> Z. Rat.<sup>3</sup> Gall.<sup>1.2</sup>.

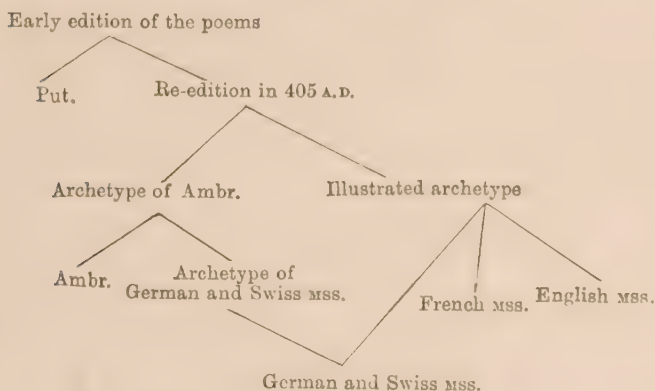
Sufficient proof has I think been given to show that Stettiner's deductions from the illustrations are in the main

supported by examination of the unillustrated MSS. But there appears to me to be one difficulty in accepting Stettiner's stemma and applying it to all our MSS. Since the French and English groups of MSS., which preserve most faithfully the traditions of the archetype, keep the *Per.* separate from the *Cath.*, the combination of the two and the transposition of the two last hymns of the *Cath.* must be referred to that "Carolingian MS. circ. 850" from which he derives the German class. But both changes already appear in the *Ambrosianus*, and the *Ambr.* dates from the VIIIth century. And the changes are such as cannot be accounted for by the assumption of loose sheets in the archetype, which could be read now here, now there: nor could the idea of making the transpositions have occurred independently to two scribes. The only reasonable inference seems to be that the transpositions represent a separate tradition current in Italy at least as early as the VIIIth century: and from this tradition all the MSS. in which the transpositions occur must be derived. Of course this is not irreconcilable with Stettiner's proof that the illustrations of the German class are derived from the same illustrated archetype as the French and English, if we assume that a copy of the illustrated MS. was brought to Switzerland and there met a copy of the same family as *Ambr.*; and the Swiss and German MSS. were their united progeny. This might account for the fact that the greater number of Dressel's Italian MSS. appear to agree rather with the German than the French group (cf. *Psych. praef. l. uia est*); and also for the replacement of the two last hymns of the *Cath.* in B, K and the rest of their group. If two copies were used, one having the correct order, that replacement might have easily taken place, though the opposite order was adopted in the rest of the MSS.: and B from its early date may have been one of the copies originally taken from the two different archetypes. It would also account for the large number of variant readings given in so many of the MSS.

The reason for the difference of order in the two archetypes is harder to see, though there is something to be said for Birt's\* suggestion that it is due to the original

\* T. Birt, *Antike Buchwesen*, p. 305, note 2.

transmission of the books and hymns as separate poems. Undoubtedly Prudentius lived at the end of the papyrus age and pace Birt\* may quite well have edited his edition of 405 in a parchment codex, still he must have published some at least of the poems in a separate form; and we seem to have traces of this in the recognition in some MSS. of *Per. X.* "the Romanus" as a separate book. Whether either of these recensions can be identified with that represented by *Put.* is again a debatable point; but I for my part think not. *Put.* arranges the *Per.* in quite a different order and appears to omit the *Praefatio* and the *Symm.* I. and II.; and I have elsewhere suggested that it is a representative of an edition earlier than that of 405 A.D.† So that I would reconstruct the history of the transmission of the text something as follows



Of course in so doing I have assumed three different archetypes for our existing MSS.; and thereby committed heresy against what seems to be an almost accepted canon of textual criticism, that by hook or by crook the MSS. of a classical author must be reduced to a stemma at the head of which stands one single archetype from which they are all derived. Well, I confess I am a heretic, and cannot for the life of me conceive

\* Birt, p. 373, speaking of Ausonius, Prudentius, and Claudian. "Erst nach ihrem Ableben können diese Werke

zu bestimmt geordneten Corpora gesammelt worden sein."

† *Class. Rev.* May 1903.

why so much misdirected energy should be expended. Of course Lachmann proved beyond all doubt that Lucretius' text, as we now have it, emanated from one source; and the same has been proved of many other works. But then Lucretius was anathema in the Middle Ages, and perhaps those other authors were but little read. Besides there are exceptions to every rule, and the probability seems strongly in favour of an author so well suited to medieval monastic taste as Prudentius, and one whose popularity is attested by the large number of extant MSS., forming an exception to a rule which of itself implies a narrow circle of readers.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

## ON FRONTO.

The new *Frontoniana* of the Dutch scholar Brakman (Utrecht 1902), which contain the results of a fresh examination of the palimpsest original, induced me to re-peruse this summer the whole of the letters, as contained in Naber's excellent edition of 1867. Shortly after the appearance of Naber's volume I contributed a short paper of criticisms and emendations to the first number of this journal. The present remarks have accumulated in the interval, the correspondence of men so notable in the history of the world as the orator Fronto and his pupils in rhetoric M. Aurelius and L. Verus drawing me again and again to the study of a diction and style unlike anything else surviving in Roman literature, and marking the period unmistakably.

p. 6. Ecce nox praeteriit, dies hic est ALIERETVLA...exactus est.

Perhaps *alter et uel alter* 'a second and indeed a third.'

p. 10. Somnus autem Ulixen ne patriam quidem suam diu agnasceret siuit, cuius καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι  
Ἦς γαίης θανέειν ἰμείρετο.

The original (Od. I. 58) has Ἰέμενος καὶ κ. ἄ. ν. As Marcus Aurelius has omitted Ἰέμενος, there is no construction. It would seem that νοῆσαι should be νοήσας.

p. 14. Brakman's conjecture *inauditum*, if he has correctly reported the legible letters of the palimpsest .n...itam', seems very probable. Klusmann Emend. Fronton. 1874 suggested *antiquam*, less near to the original.

- p. 17. aliter plangit seruus manumissus aliter cliens laudaucatus aliter amicus legato honoratus.

The balance of clauses would be preserved by writing *aliter cliens laudatum uocatus*, invited to pronounce an eulogium.

- p. 34. Polemonis tui quem meministi, rogo ne Horatii memineras, qui mihi cum Polione est emortuus.

*quem* is more probably *quom* or *qum* than *quoniam*. So p. 81 animo bene fuit qum te balneo et uino libenter usum cognoui.

- p. 46. Postea ubi re proposita †eimaginem scribes.

This I believe to be an error for *ei rei imaginem*, a combination elsewhere affected by Fronto. p. 47 *de quo deus ei rei praeditus facilius exaudiat*. p. 95 *eique ego rei, sei fieri possit, repuerascere opto*.

- p. 60. Postquam uehiculum inscendi iter non adeo incommodum †non fecimus.

This seems to be not *nos fecimus*, but *confecimus*.

- p. 80. Modo mihi Victorinus indicat Dominam tuam magis maluisse quam heri.

Naber prints *caluisse* after Schopen. Possibly in Fronto's time *incallescere* was used of having a fever: certainly *in* would account for the *m* in *maluisse*.

- p. 83. aput censores expostulat.

A little lower, in the letter following,

In hac materia diutius laborandum est ut factum cre-datur, quam ut irascatur.

The absence of a nominative to *expostulat* or, apparently, to *irascatur* is noticeable, as the second letter (from M. Aurelius) is an answer to the first. But whereas it is quite in accordance with the shortness of legal Latin to supply a nominative to *expostulat*, this is not equally true of *irascatur*. I think Marcus is here following the usage of comedy, which made *irascere* an active, *irasci* a passive verb. Nonius p. 127 quotes from Pomponius *noli irascere*: hence *irascatur* may be impersonal 'that

anger may be felt,' or, as Novák has suggested, comparing A. Gell. vii. 2. 5 *delicta non suscensenda*, the nominative may be *factum*.

ib. Vindemias laetasque quam firmissimo corpore agere te, mi magister, opto.

Perhaps *laetas quamque firmissimo corpore*.

p. 126. breues nec ullam rerum gestarum expeditionem continentes.

This is said of the short letters in Sallust's Histories. *Ex-peditio* seems here to mean 'statement' or 'account': much so Herenn. iv. 68 *habet paucis comprehensa breuitas multarum rerum expeditionem*. Otherwise *expositionem* might be suggested.

p. 140. In primis oratori cauendum, ne quod nouum uerbum ut aes adulterinum percutiat, ut unum et id uerbum uetustate noscatur et nouitate delectet.

Read *unum et id uerum uetustate noscatur*.

p. 144. Places tibi cum facundus: igitur †uerberantem. quid †facundia uerberas?

*facundiam* was long since conjectured; for *uerberantem* Niebuhr's *uerbera te* is accepted by Naber, but does not seem certain. It might be *uerberandum test*.

ib. illud etiam audisse me memini, pleraque sapientes uiros (id inest scitis mentis atque consultis) habere debere quorum interdum usu abstineant.

Nothing is here changed: I only add marks of parenthesis before *id* and after *consultis*, translating 'this is inherent in mental resolves and determinations,' a preliminary clause explaining a statement against which objection might be raised.

p. 160. Ennius: Postquam †constitis fluuius qui omnium princeps.

Here the palimpsest is variously reported. Naber gives *const..ti*. Vahlen in his new edition of Ennius *consis...se*, Brakman read *constitis*, adding 'ita euidenter codex.' If this is true, Ennius wrote *constitit is*, and this absence of caesura is quite in the manner of his hexameters.

- p. 168. Quamobrem tecum quaeso nequid obsit amicitia nobis  
†qui nihil profuit.

Naber prints *quae*. I think it should be *quia*. Klussmann conj. *quibus*.

- p. 179. Impense istud a te peto. factum enim Aquilae uolo  
honoris eorum causa qui pro eo studiose laborant.

Naber prints Heindorf's conjecture *fautum*. I doubt the rightness of this word, and believe *factum* to be defensible. 'I wish it to be done in Aquila's behalf as a compliment to those who are using their efforts for him.' The indeterminateness of the word is natural in the comparatively free language of epistolary correspondence.

- p. 216. .uod.. nunc diuinae naturae proprium est nec fenum manu prehendere nec solem queas.

*Quodsi* Naber: perhaps *Quodque*. 'Besides, which is a property of the divine nature in the matter before us, it is impossible to grasp either smoke or the sun with the hands.'

- ib. nisi delicta facile †intellegas parum clementer †indulgeasque.

\*Naber gives *facile neglegas*, in which *neglegas* appears to me incongruous with *facile*. Surely the meaning is 'unless you put an easy (lenient) construction on faults.' For *indulgeasque* perhaps *indulgeas quoque*. Without a lenient judgment to start with, there can be no real sympathy with (and therefore indulgence to) the offender. The understanding must anticipate the heart.

- p. 223. *magiras facere* 'to profess the trade of a cook' ought, I think, to be *magirias f.*

- p. 224. aut Ennio incenderes (sc. te) in horam ist.. Musarum propriam quintam.

*istius* seems the most natural supplement: the hour which properly belongs to his (Ennius') muses, the fifth, in allusion to his praenomen *Quintus*.

## ENOCH AND CLEMENT.

The nucleus of this article is a conjectural emendation of *νερτέρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κρίματα* in Chapter xx. of St Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians, which I communicated to the Cambridge Theological Society in December last (1903). Section A contains notes and comments upon that chapter. In Section B it is suggested that Clement knew and used the Book of Enoch.

### A.

#### THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.

1. In the margin of Clem. *Cor.* xix., xx. Jacobson writes, "Novis argumentis, a Dei sapientia *et ordine in mundo observato* petitis, pacem et concordiam suadet." The former chapter ends with the words *νοήσωμεν πῶς ἀόργητος ὑπάρχει πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ*. The latter is given below in § 3 according to Dr J. B. Lightfoot's translation, first published in the Appendix (1877) to his "S. Clement of Rome," edit. 1, 1869.

Next comes in the Epistle, "xxi. 1 Look ye, brethren, lest His benefits, which are many, turn unto judgment to all of us, if we walk not worthily of Him, and do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight with concord." With this compare, "xxxviii. 3 Let us consider, brethren, of what matter we were made :...from what a sepulchre and what darkness He that moulded and created us brought us into His world, having prepared His benefits aforehand ere ever we were

born. 4 Seeing therefore that we have all these things from Him, we ought in all things to give thanks to Him, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen."

## 2. *Sirach and Clement.*

There are apparent allusions in Clem. Cor. xx. f., lix. to the following passage of Ecclesiasticus :

xvi. 18 Behold, *the heaven and the heaven of heavens, the deep, and the earth, and all that therein is, shall be moved when he shall visit.* 19 The mountains also and foundations of the earth shall be shaken with trembling, when the Lord *looketh upon them...* 26 The works of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning: and from the time he made them he disposed the parts thereof. 27 He garnished his works for ever, and in his hand are the chief of them unto all generations... 28 *None of them hindereth another, and they shall never disobey his word.* 29 After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings...

xvii. 1 The Lord created man of the earth, &c.

## 3. *Translation of Clem. Cor. xx.*

Clem. Cor. xx. was rendered as follows by Dr Lightfoot. The verse numbers (1)—(12) are added, for convenience of reference in the notes in § 4 upon the chapter; some words are given from the Greek of the Epistle; and some from the Latin Version of it in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, ed. Dom G. Morin, 1894:

xx. (1) The heavens are moved (*σαλευόμενοι*) by His direction and obey Him in peace. (2) Day and night accomplish the course assigned to them by Him, without hindrance one to another (*μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα*). (3) The sun and the moon and the dancing stars (*ἀστέρων τε χοροί*) according to His appointment circle in harmony within the bounds assigned to them, without any swerving aside (*preuaricatione*). (4) The earth, bearing fruit in fulfilment of His will at her proper seasons, putteth forth the food that supplieth abundantly both men and beasts and all living things which are thereupon, making no dissension, neither altering anything which He hath

decreed. (5) Moreover, the inscrutable depths of the abysses and the unutterable statutes (κρίματα, *iudicia*) of the nether regions are constrained (συνέχεται, *continentur*) by the same ordinances. (6) The basin (κύτος) of the boundless sea, gathered together by His workmanship *into its reservoirs* (Gen. i. 9), passeth not (οὐ παρεκβαίνει) the barriers where-with it is surrounded; but even as He ordered it, so it doeth. (7) For He said, *So far shalt thou come, and thy waves* (Α κυματα) *shall be broken within thee* (Job xxxviii. 10, 11). (8) The ocean which is impassable for men, and the worlds beyond it, are directed by the same ordinances of the Master. (9) The seasons of spring and summer and autumn and winter give way in succession one to another in peace. (10) The winds in their several quarters at their proper season fulfil their ministry without disturbance; and the everflowing fountains, created for enjoyment and health, without fail give their breasts which sustain the life of men. Yea, the smallest of living things come together in concord and peace. (11) All these things the great Creator and Master of the universe ordered to be in peace and concord, doing good unto all things, but far beyond the rest unto us who have taken refuge in His compassionate mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, (12) to whom be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

#### 4. Notes on the above chapter.

(1) σαλευόμενοι] Σαλεύεσθαι in the Bible being used of abnormal and destructive movement, as in Heb. xii. 27 ἵνα μείνῃ τὰ μὴ σαλευόμενα, it has been proposed to insert μὴ or οὐ before σαλευόμενοι, but the context points to motion and not rest. The "impétueuses révolutions" of the heavenly bodies might be expected to issue in catastrophes, but they are accomplished "en paix." In Lightfoot's commentary we read, "Σαλεύεσθαι is indeed frequently used in the Old Testament to express terror and confusion, in speaking of the earth, the hills, etc.; but never of the heavens." That is to say, it is *never used there of the heavens* in that or any sense. It is however so used in the first verse (xvi. 18) quoted above in § 2 from Ecclesiasticus, a book included in the Old Testament

in Greek. Tromm's *Concordance* s.v. *σαλεύω* quotes the verse without its beginning, for the sake of brevity; and on Clem. *Cor.* lix. 3 τὸν ἐπιβλέποντα ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις Lightfoot himself writes, "Ecclus. xvi. 18, 19 ἄβυσσος καὶ γῆ σαλευθήσονται κτέ," omitting ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (in the Cairene Hebrew text *הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ*), which is part of the subject of *σαλευθήσονται*.

(2) *μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα*] I suppose this to have been suggested to Clement by Sir. xvi. 28 ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξέθλιψεν (*al.* ἔθλ.), A.V. *None of them hindereth another*. St Cyril of Jerusalem alludes to Clement's words *μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα...ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κτέ* in his Catechetical Lectures (ed. Gifford in *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers*). In ix. 8 he writes, "They ought to have felt astonishment, not only at the arrangement of sun and moon, but also at τῶν ἀστέρων τὰς εὐτάκτους χορείας καὶ τοὺς ἀνεμποδίστους δρόμους κτέ." In xviii. 8, as is well known, he quotes Clement by name on the story of the Phoenix.

(3) *prevaricatione*] "Ita legitur in cod. Const. *παρεβάσεως*: quod vocabulum quomodo intellectui officiat, sicuti Lightfoot pronunciavit, haud equidem video. Si enim ad stellas obœdientiae et concordiae virtutes transferuntur, quidni etiam vitium praevaricationis?" (Morin). The readings of Gr. and Syr. are A *παρεκβάσεως* (cf. οὐ *παρεκβαίνει* in xx. 6), C *παρεβάσεως*, Syr. *in omni egressu cursus ipsorum*. Lightfoot prefers *παρεκβάσεως*, and considers that the other reading *παρὰβάσεως* "destroys the sense." Morin, while allowing *παρεκβάσεως* "optimam esse lectionem," defends *παρὰβάσεως* as a not impossible alternative. Compare *Psal. Sol.* xix. 2 οὐ παρέβησαν ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ ἣν ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς. Enoch ii. 1 οὐ παραβαίνουσιν (quoted below in § 5), xviii. 15 καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ κυλιόμενοι ἐν τῷ πυρὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παραβάντες πρόσταγμα Κυρίου... ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆλθον ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν, xxi. 6 τῶν ἀστέρων...οἱ παραβάντες κτέ. But *παρεκβάσεως* is on the whole the better reading.

(5) *ἀβύσσων τε ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ νερτέρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κρίματα τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνέχεται προστάγμασιν*] The word

wanted in place of κρίματα is one which would include ἀβύσσων ἀνεξιχνίαστα and serve as a subject for συνέχεται, continentur. For previous attempts to explain κρίματα or to emend it, as by reading κλίματα, κρύμματα, χρήματα, see Jacobson. Some, while retaining κρίματα, regard κλίματα as the best of these conjectural readings. So Lightfoot, but with the remark that he would in preference "strike out the word altogether." Funk likewise suggests (ed. 2, p. 126), "fortasse librarium...aut vocem inseruisse aut κλίματα in eam mutasse."

None of these solutions being satisfactory I proposed to read κοιλώματα, giving the sense that the "unfathomed caves" of the underworld are held together by the Creator's προστάγματα. These nether cavities have not been and cannot be explored, and are therefore ἀνεκδιήγητα, indescribable. Being held together they hold their proper contents, and do not let them break out and mix with one another.

For more on κοιλώματα see Section B (p. 193 f.).

(5) *inexscrutabilia quisita*] So the Latin *prima manu*, with an added line of division between *qui sita*. Can this be the remnant of a reading *inexquisita*, for ἀνεξιχνίαστα?

(6) κύτος] After what was said of the νερτέρων κοιλώματα, if that be the right reading in (5), the verse on the κύτος of the sea follows naturally. A scholiast on Psalm lxiv. 8 ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης, quoted by Schleusner s.v. κύτος, explains κύτος by κοίλωμα. Thus in effect Clement goes on to say that the κοίλωμα of the sea is held together, so that its waters do not break out and pass their bounds.

(7) κύματα] Α κρυματα. Lightfoot writes on κρίματα in (5), "Indeed the same word seems still to be running in the head of the scribe of A when below he writes κρυματα for κυματα." Just before this Lipsius had been quoted for the suggestion, "that κρίματα was written down by some thoughtless scribe from Rom. xi. 33 ἀνεξερευνήτα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ."

## B.

## THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

5. The following extracts from the book of Enoch are from the edition of Professor R. H. Charles (Clarendon Press, 1893). The English represents the Ethiopic Version. The Greek is from the Gizeh fragment, as printed in his Appendix C.

## Enoch ii—v.

ii. 1 I observed everything that took place in the heaven, how the luminaries which are in the heaven do not deviate from their orbits, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order. 2 Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, how unvaryingly every work of God appears. 3 Behold the summer and the winter... iii. 1 I observed and saw how (in the winter) all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves... iv. 1 And again I observed the days of summer...v. 1 how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed to everything, and recognise how He who liveth for ever hath made all this for you. 2. How His works are before Him in each succeeding year, and all His works serve Him and alter not, but everything is done as God hath ordained. 3 And behold how the seas and the rivers together accomplish their task. 4 But as for you, ye have not continued stedfast, and the law of the Lord have ye not fulfilled but have transgressed it, and have slanderously spoken proud and hard words with your impure mouths against His greatness.

ii. 1 Κατανοήσατε πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πῶς οὐκ ἡλλοίωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν...καὶ οὐ παραβαίνουσιν τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν. 2 Ἴδετε τὴν γῆν κτέ. v. 2 καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας...οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦνται...ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν...τὰ πάντα γίνεται. 3 Ἴδετε πῶς ἡ θάλασσα κτέ. 4 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐνεμεΐνατε οὐδὲ ἐποιήσατε κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀπέστητε κτέ.

Clement, alluding as we may think to Enoch, passes from a like comprehensive survey of the orderliness of nature to an exhortation to men. He entreats the Church of Corinth to lay aside its disorder and dissensions: to return to its former "exemplary concord and charity"; and to practise the harmony which prevails in heaven and earth and sea.

Enoch xxii.

xxii. 1 And then I went to another place, and he showed me in the west a great high mountain and hard rocks and four *beautiful* places. 2 And there were there deep and wide (places) perfectly smooth, as smooth as *something which rolls*, and deep and black to look at. 3 And this time Rufael answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and spake to me: These *hollow places* whereon the spirits of the souls of the dead are assembled have been created to this very end, that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. 4 These places are appointed as their habitation till the day of their judgment and till their appointed period, and this appointed period is long, till the great judgment comes upon them.

5 And I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice penetrated to the heaven and complained. 6 This time I asked the angel Rufael who was with me and spake to him: Whose spirit is that one yonder whose voice thus penetrates (to heaven) and complains? 7 And he answered me and spake thus to me saying: This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he keeps complaining of him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed disappears from amongst the seed of men.

8 And therefore at that time I asked regarding him, and regarding *the judgment of all*, Why is one separated from the other? 9 And he answered me and spake to me: These three divisions are made to separate the spirits of the dead. And the souls of the righteous are thus separated (from the rest): there is a spring of water and light above it. 10 Such a

(division) likewise has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth without incurring judgment in their lifetime. 11 Here their souls are placed apart in this great pain, till the great day of judgment and punishment and torture of the revilers for ever and vengeance for their souls; there will they be bound for ever. 12 And such a division has been made for the souls of those who complain and make known their destruction *when they were slain in the days of the sinners*.

xxii. 1 Κάκειθεν ἐφώδευσα εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι πρὸς δυσμὰς ἄλλο ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν καὶ πέτρας στερεάς. 2 καὶ τέσσαρες τόποι ἐν αὐτῷ κοῖλοι...καὶ εἶπον· Πῶς λεία τὰ κοιλώματα ταῦτα...3 τότε ἀπεκρίθη Ῥαφαήλ... Οὗτοι οἱ τόποι οἱ κοῖλοι, ἵνα ἐπισυνάγωνται εἰς αὐτοὺς τὰ πνεύματα κτέ. 4 καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τόποι εἰς ἐπισύσχεσιν (MS. ἐπισυνσχεσι) αὐτῶν ἐποιήθησαν...μέχρι τοῦ διορισμοῦ καὶ διωρισμένου χρόνου ἐν ᾧ ἡ κρίσις ἡ μεγάλη ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

5 Τεθεάμαι (πνεῦμα) ἀνθρώπου νεκροῦ (ἐντυγχάνοντος), καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προέβαινεν, καὶ ἐνετύγχανεν· 6 καὶ ἡρώτησα Ῥαφαήλ κτέ. 7 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη μοι λέγων· Τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ Ἀβελ, ὃν ἐφόνευσεν Κάειν ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ (Ἀβελ) ἐντυγχάνει περὶ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ἀπολέσθαι τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ κτέ.

8 Τότε ἡρώτησα (περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ) περὶ τῶν κοιλωμάτων (MS. κυκλωμάτων) πάντων· Διὰ τί ἐχωρίσθησαν ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνός; 9 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη μοι λέγων· Οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐποιήθησαν χωρίζεσθαι τὰ πνεύματα τῶν νεκρῶν...11 ὧδε χωρίζεται τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην βάσανον ταύτην μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως...12 καὶ οὕτως ἐχωρίσθη τοῖς πνεύμασιν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων, οἵτινες ἐμφανίζουσιν περὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὅταν φονευθῶσιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν.

Verses 5—7 on Abel are referred to below in § 9 b in connexion with Heb. xii. 24.

Verse 12 is referred to in § 8, on the date of Enoch i—xxxvi. Eth. *when they were slain* suggests Gr. ὅτε ἐφονεύθησαν instead of ὅταν φονευθῶσιν. But on ὅταν for ὅτε in post-classical Greek see Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 1987 (1897).

6. Κοίλωμα misread Κρίμα.

Assuming that the Ethiopic of Enoch comes from an original Hebrew through the medium of a Greek translation (Charles, p. 21), we can account for the differences between the English and the Greek of Enoch xxii. as quoted in § 5, where the English represents the Ethiopic.

a. In xxii. 1 Eth. we read of "four *beautiful* places," from καλοί by mistake for κοῖλοι, as Gr. in the next verse shews by its τόποι κοῖλοι.

b. In xxii. 2 Eth. "implies κυκλώματα or κυλίσματα" (Charles, p. 359 f.), where Gr. has κοιλώματα. Giving the preference to κύκλωμα which Gr. has in verse 8, we may say that Eth. *something which rolls* comes from κυκλώματα, a corruption of κοιλώματα in the Greek which underlies the Ethiopic.

c. In xxii. 8 "Eth. followed a corrupt reading κριμάτων" (Charles, p. 361), and Gr. has κυκλωμάτων. For this the editor rightly substitutes κοιλωμάτων in his text of the Gizeh Greek; and he gives the English rendering, "I asked regarding *it* and regarding all the hollow places," instead of "I asked regarding him and regarding the judgment of all." Thus from περὶ τῶν κοιλωμάτων πάντων we get περὶ τῶν κριμάτων πάντων, *regarding all the judgments*, and then "regarding the judgment of all."

A like corruption of κοιλώματα accounts for κρίματα in Clem. Cor. xx. 5. With Clement's συνέχεται, continentur, compare Enoch xxii. 4 εἰς ἐπισύσχεσιν, 8—12 ἐχωρίσθησαν κτέ. The κοιλώματα, being held together, hold their several contents and keep them separate.

A textual corruption may be accounted for (1) as due to clerical error only, or (2) as occasioned by something in the context which would have suggested it. With κρίμα for κοίλωμα as a mere clerical error compare, in the Syncellus and the Gizeh Greek respectively, Enoch x. 4 δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαήλ, 11 δῆσον Σεμιαζᾶν (pp. 72, 74), x. 4 Δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαήλ, 11 δῆλωσον Σεμιαζᾶ (pp. 337, 339). Dropping the λω of κοίλωμα we get the no-word κοιμα, which would be turned

into κρίμα. Enoch xxii. relates 'to the great judgment,' and this favours the misreading κρίμα for κοίλωμα.

Clem. Cor. xx. 5 κρίματα has been accounted for as suggested by Rom. xi. 33 or Psalm xxxvi (xxxv.) 7, as is remarked by Lightfoot; and the supposed relation of the nether regions to judgment makes the phrase νερτέρων κρίματα of itself seem natural and right.

Some scribe acquainted both with the book of Enoch and with the Epistle of Clement may have transferred the misreading of κοίλωμα from the one writing to the other.

### 7. The Testaments of the Patriarchs.

a. For another quotation of Sir. xvi. 18 f. see *Test. Levi* 3 (ed. Sinker, 1869):

"Όταν οὖν ἐπιβλέψῃ Κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντες ἡμεῖς σαλευόμεθα· καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ οἱ (al. αἱ) ἄβυσσοι ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ σαλεύονται (al. -θήσονται).

b. In *Test. Neph.* 3, 4 there is a parallel to Clem. Cor. xx. and Enoch ii—v., ending with an express allusion to Enoch:

γ'. "Ηλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦσι τάξιν αὐτῶν· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ ἀλλοιώσετε (sic) νόμον Θεοῦ ἐν ἀταξίᾳ πράξεων ὑμῶν. "Εθνη πλανηθέντα καὶ ἀφέντα τὸν Κύριον ἡλλοίωσαν τάξιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπηκολούθησαν λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις, ἐξακολουθήσαντες πνεύμασι πλάνης. Ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ οὕτως, τέκνα μου, γνόντες ἐν στερεώματι, ἐν γῇ, καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δημιουργήμασι, Κύριον τὸν ποιήσαντα ταῦτα πάντα, ἵνα μὴ γένησθε ὡς Σόδομα, ἥτις ἐνήλλαξε τάξιν φύσεως αὐτῆς. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἑγγρήγορες (al. Ἑγρήγοροι) ἐνήλλαξαν τάξιν φύσεως αὐτῶν, οὓς καὶ κατηράσατο Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, δι' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ κατοικησίας καὶ καρπῶν τάξας τὴν γῆν ἀοίκητον.

δ'. Ταῦτα λέγω (ὕμῖν), τέκνα μου, ὅτι ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἀγίᾳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καὶ γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ Κυρίου, κτέ.

### 8. Date of Enoch i—xxvi.

In his General Introduction to the Book of Enoch Professor Charles divides the book as we have it into five fragmentary parts, of which Part I, consisting of chapters i—xxxvi., is said

to be the oldest and to have been written before 170 B.C. As in this "there is not the faintest allusion to the persecutions and massacres of Antiochus Epiphanes, we are probably safe in fixing on 170 B.C. as the latest limit possible for its composition" (p. 26).

Of this Part I we read in the special Introduction to it, that "It is impossible to regard it as a complete work in itself, and its leading ideas preclude our finding its original complement in the other Sections of the book" (p. 55). It is again argued that it is "earlier in fact than the persecution under Antiochus; for to the horrors of that persecution, which impressed themselves so strongly on the author of Daniel, and of En. lxxxiii—xc., there is not the faintest allusion in i—xxxvi" (p. 56).

In Dr Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* also it is said of this part of the Book of Enoch that, as there is no allusion in it to the massacres of Antiochus Epiphanes, the date 170 B.C. is "the latest reasonable limit for its composition" (vol. i. 707 *a*, 1898); and the same argument reappears under 'Apocalyptic Literature' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (col. 222, 1899). Professor Charles is the writer in both cases.

Granted that Part I of Enoch is a mere fragment, the negative argument thus insisted upon for its early date is of no validity, unless indeed it can be shewn, (1) that somewhere in the chapters i—xxxvi. there ought to have been, if they were written late enough for it, some allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes: and (2) that there is certainly no such allusion in them. Looking for a place suitable for such an allusion we come to chap. xxii. 12, quoted above in § 5, and upon this verse we find a footnote ending (with a misprint), "In the days of the sinners: *probably the times of Antiochus Epiphanus*" (Charles, p. 96). If these words of the editor were cancelled, it might still be thought that 'Enoch' had in mind those evil days: those in particular, if not those only. If just at that point he was not thinking of them, he may have alluded to them in some other place or places of the book of which Part I is a fragment. Thus the argument for a date before those days is, I think, quite inconclusive.

For my present purpose it is enough to assume that Enoch ii—v, xxii, quoted above in § 5, is intermediate in date to Ecclesiasticus and the Epistle of Clement.

### 9. *Enoch and the New Testament.*

The influence of Enoch on the New Testament is said to have been great and extensive, and a series of parallels to it in Enoch is given (p. 41 f.). In some cases the correspondence is not very close; but I do not propose to go through the list.

a. In illustration of 1 Pet. i. 12 εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι some writers have quoted Enoch ix. 1, where it is said that the four great archangels, shewing an interest in the doings upon earth, παρέκνυσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κτέ (pp. 67, 68). For the Gizeh Greek see page 333.

b. Of the Epistle to the Hebrews it is said, "This Epistle was probably written by Barnabas. As we have seen above (p. 38) this writer cites Enoch as Scripture in the Epistle which goes by his name" (p. 47). Thus the two Epistles seem strangely to be attributed to one and the same author\*.

Then follow references to Heb. iv. 13, xi. 5, 10, xii. 9, 22, and opposite to them quotations from Enoch with which they do not seem to have any real connexion. Two of the five parallels are as follows:

#### HEBREWS.

xi. 5. Enoch was translated... for before his translation he had this testimony that he pleased God.

xii. 9. Father of spirits.

#### ENOCH.

The parallel passage must, it seems, depend on the Enoch book where Enoch is always accounted an example of righteousness and therefore translated. Cf. xv. 1; lxxi. 14, &c. In Ecclus. xlv. 16 Enoch is... cited as an example of repentance. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, &c.

'Lord of Spirits,' *passim* in Similitudes.

\* Tertullian ascribes the Epistle to the Hebrews (but not the so-called Epistle of Barnabas) to Barnabas. This view has been ably defended by Mr H. H. B. Ayles in his monograph

on the destination, date and authorship of the former Epistle (1899), and more recently by Professor Vernon Bartlet in the *Expositor*.

Heb. xi. 5 rests upon Gen. v. 22, 24 καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ θεῷ κτέ, and there was no need to refer to the Book of Enoch for his 'righteousness,' which is not expressly mentioned in the verse, "By faith Enoch &c." Ecclus. xlv. 16 in Heb. and Gr. requires careful discussion, the Cairo text making him תַּעַת אֵל, *a sign of knowledge*. But Gen. *l.c.* sufficiently accounts for the 'testimony that he pleased God.'

Heb. xii. 9 τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων may very well have come from Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16 θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων, Is. lxiv. 8 *Thou art our Father*, without the intervention of Enoch's 'Lord of spirits,' itself derived from Num. *l.c.*

On the other hand I would suggest as a possibility that Heb. xii. 24 κρεῖττον λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀβελ refers to Enoch xxii. 5—7, cited above in § 5, as well as to Gen. iv. 10.

c. With certain passages of the New Testament compare Enoch x. 4, "Bind Azazel feet and hands and cast him into the darkness" (p. 337).

#### 10. *Enoch and the Church Fathers.*

a. See Professor Charles as to the influence of Enoch on Patristic Literature (p. 38 f.). He begins with the Epistle of Barnabas which quotes Enoch by name, and regards the Epistle as a writing of cent. 1 A.D. Perhaps however it was written in cent. 2.

b. Hermae Pastor is quoted in the footnote on Enoch xlvii. 3 *the books of the living* (p. 132), cf. *Sim.* ii. 9 εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῶν ζώντων.

Enoch in iii—v., quoted above in § 5, contrasts the trees with and without leaves in summer and winter, and passes from the course of nature to the doings of men. Hermas may have thought of this when he wrote his parables of the Trees in Winter and Summer in *Sim.* iii., iv.

c. Irenaeus iv. 16. 2 quotes Enoch xiv. 7, as is pointed out by Professor Charles on pages 38, 80.

Irenaeus in his famous passage on the four Gospels probably alluded to Enoch xviii. 1—3, as I have shewn in *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Addit. Note 3 (p. 135, 1897).

d. In Clem. *Cor.* ix. 3 Ἐνώχ...δίκαιος there may possibly be an allusion to the book of Enoch, which is quoted as Ἐνώχ ὁ δίκαιος in *Test. xii. Patr.* (Lightfoot).

Clement in lix. 3 μόνον εὐεργέτην πνευμάτων καὶ Θεὸν πάσης σαρκός, lxiv. 1 Θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ Κύριος πάσης σαρκός refers to Num. xxvii. 16 (xvi. 22) Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός. Compare the title 'Lord of Spirits' in the Similitudes of Enoch (xxxvii—lxx.).

The relationship of Clement's Epistle and other writings quoted above is shewn by particular expressions and by agreements of a more general kind. Sirach's survey of the creation including man (§ 2) prepares the way for Enoch's reflexions upon the order of the world, followed by ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐνεμείνατε κτέ (§ 5). There is the same remarkable sequence in *Test. Neph.* 3, 4, and immediately afterwards a reference to the γραφὴν ἁγία of Enoch (§ 7). Clem. *Cor.* xx. f., with tacit allusion to Sirach and Enoch if not to the *Testaments*, bases an exhortation to harmony in the Church of Corinth on the observed order of the cosmos in heaven and earth and sea. Sir. xvi. 18, 19 (§ 2) suggests Οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ σαλευόμενοι κτέ and τὸν ἐπιβλέποντα ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις in Clem. *Cor.* xx, lix. (§§ 3, 4); and the same verses of Ecclesiasticus are quoted in *Test. Levi* 3 (§ 7). Κριμάτων as a misreading of κοιλωμάτων in Enoch xxii (§ 6) suggests κοιλώματα as a possible emendation of κρίματα in Clem. *Cor.* xx. 5. Lastly, in Cyril of Jerusalem's *Cat.* ix. 8 (§ 4) we have a patristic testimony to Clem. *Cor.* xx.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE,

March 1904.

# NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK AS DEDUCED FROM GRÆCO-INDIAN BILINGUAL COINS, B.C. 180-20.

A FEW facts and general principles as to the pronunciation of Greek in the two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era may be deduced from the coins issued by Greek rulers in India at this time bearing legends in Greek letters on the one side and in Indian letters on the other.

The materials for the present paper have been provided by Prof. P. Gardner's *Coins of the Greek...Kings of...India in the British Museum*, supplemented by Bühler's corrections in his article *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions on the Indo-Grecian Coins* (Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. VIII), by notes from Prof. Rapson, and by reference to several of the coins themselves.

A few Greek names occur in the inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the Indian emperor Aśoka in the third century B.C.; and on the other hand several Greek writers transcribe certain Indian names in their own manner. The latter class deserves to be tabulated. The coins have, however, an advantage over both these classes, inasmuch as they may be regarded as joint-productions of Greeks and Indians, under Greek authority. The material however is not very large; as we have rather less than 30 Greek names, and one Greek word<sup>2</sup>, written in both characters.

Considering first *vowels*, it should be observed that, chiefly owing to the character (Kharoṣṭhī) in which all issues but two

<sup>1</sup> *Rock-edicts* III and XIII: edited by Senart in *Journal Asiatique*, 1881; and Bühler, *ZDMG* Bd 43 (1889). The curious distortions of these transcriptions form a contrast to those of

the coins.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that Greek epithets and the like are usually translated not transcribed; e.g. ἀδελφός, bhrātā.

are inscribed, there is no case of a long *a i* or *u*, determinable as such.

The case of *e* and *o* is different. These are well known to be always long in Sanskrit. The language of the coins however is not classical Sanskrit, but a form of speech now usually termed 'epigraphic Pali'; and it is therefore important to observe that the Prakrit and Pali grammarians regard these two vowels as long except in some cases before two consonants.

H occurs five times.

(1) *Διομηδου* Tiyumetasa (or -medasa). (2) *Ἡλιοκλεους* Heliukreyasa and (3) *Ἡλιyakresasa*, where the nominative with its *η* seems to be mistaken for a base. (4) *Τηλεφου* Teliphasa. (5) *στρατηγου* strategasa.

A sixth occurrence, *Καλλιопης* Kalipaya, forms no real exception to the rule that *η* = Indian *e*. For -aya is merely an attempt to decline the word on Indian principles.

H was therefore pronounced like the Italian *e*, and not as it is now pronounced in Greece (or in England).

Ω occurs twice<sup>1</sup>: *Ἀρτεμιδωρου* Atrimitorasa, *Ζωιλου* Jhoilasa. The third case where *Στρατωνος* appears as *Stratasa* is again an attempt to make an Indian genitive-form.

Υ occurs three times. Its equivalent is always *i*. We may accordingly infer that its pronunciation was like that of *ü* in South Germany.

(1) *Ἀμυντου* Amitasa, (2) *Διονυσιου* Diyunisiyasa, (3) *Λυσιου* Lisiasa.

That *υ* is *not* equivalent to the Indian *u* may be shown from the coin identified by Prof. Rapson (*J. R. As. Soc.* '97, 324) in which the name of the goddess *Umā* is reproduced by *Ὅμμο*.

Diphthongs are of course not plentiful.

Ευ appears either as *evu* or *eü*. The characters for -*vu* and *u* (initial) are unfortunately hard to distinguish.

In the coins of Eukratides, the oldest in the series, most of the specimens that I have seen look more like *evu*-, while the rare coin of the unknown *Peukolaos* (which I examined

<sup>1</sup> *Ζειωνισου* Jhiuniasa, the name of a non-Hellenic satrap, lies outside our present enquiry.

under the guidance of Prof. Rapson) resembles rather *eti-*, -*ai-* (medial) = *ay* : 'Ερμαιον, *Heramayasa*.

It is noteworthy that the rough breathing is duly represented by the Indian *h*, as in the example just quoted and in the coin of *Heliokles*, above cited.

As regards consonants, the results are not in all cases clear. In particular there is a tendency (found also in *Pali* and with foreign words notably in Modern German) to harden soft mutes: e.g. for *Agathokles* *Akathukreya-* and *Tiyumeta-* for *Diomedes*. These erroneous pronunciations are however often corrected in another issue, presumably subsequent.

Two important principles seem, however, to come out clearly :

(1) The Greek aspirates were still true hard aspirates and not spirants, as in modern times. Had they been such, it would have been easy for the Indians to indicate this either by their signs for *h* or *v* (instead of *kh* or *ph* respectively) or even by the soft aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *bh*<sup>1</sup>. The correspondence to the Indian hard aspirates is however quite regular. Thus :

*χ* = *kh*, in *Antimakhasa*, *Arkhebiyasa* ('Αρχεβιον).

*θ* = *th*, in *Akathukreyasa*, *Theūphilasa*.

*φ* = *ph*, in *Apulaphanasa*, *Philusinasa* (Πολυξενου), *Teli-phasa*, *Theūphilasa*.

(2) The Greek dentals were true dentals; otherwise they would have been represented by the Indian cerebrals (linguals)<sup>2</sup> as the modern English dentals are.

CECIL BENDALL.

<sup>1</sup> *bh* is occasionally used in Bengal to denote the spirant *v* in English names.

<sup>2</sup> *Theūphilasa*, with lingual *th*, was

read by Prof. P. Gardner; but seems to me doubtful. Prof. Rapson also rejects the alleged lingual.

EMENDATIONES HOMERICAÆ (OD. XX—XXIV).

υ 33 τίπτ' αὐτ' ἐγρήσσεις, πάντων περὶ κάμμορε φωτῶν;  
οἶκος μὲν τοι ὄδ' ἐστί, γυνὴ δέ τοι ἦδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
καὶ πάϊς, οἶόν που τις ἐέλδεται ἔμμεναι υἷα.

So speaks the goddess Athene to the restless Odysseus, who cannot sleep, as the crisis of his fate approaches. It is the third line which I wish to consider here, but I may perhaps just draw attention, in passing, to the unusual number of words the second line contains. There is a spondee at the beginning and of course another at the end, οἶκος—οἴκῳ. The four intermediate dactylic feet are made up of no less than nine words; yet the whole verse is smoothly modulated and might be given as an example of perfection of metre and rhythm.

But let us come to our third line. In the first place it includes one little word, which certainly needs some explanation, not given, I believe, in any commentary. What is the precise force here of the *πού* in *οἶόν που*? It is hardly locative, 'somewhere,' and it is not easy to acquiesce in the rendering naturally suggested both by Attic and Homeric usage (*e.g.* A 178 *θεός που σοὶ τὸ γ' ἔδωκεν*, π 34 &c.), 'I presume,' 'perhaps,' 'perchance.' It is inconceivable that the goddess should make an idle display of supercilious scorn, by affecting ignorance of what the feeling of a human being would be on such a point. The particle here can only be compared to the fly enshrined in the amber. How it got there we need not stop to enquire. The important fact is that it is there. We cannot ignore such an intruder. It is impossible to try not to see it; for like the fly it occupies a position of singular prominence. A really intolerable weight of emphasis seems from the

natural arsis of the verse to fall upon this unhappy monosyllable. It is just the little rift within the lute that jars the melody.

In the next place, while *πού* is worse than superfluous, and is accordingly very judiciously, but very unfairly, passed over in editors' notes, as well as in the otherwise excellent rendering of this passage by Messrs Butcher and Lang, there is something lacking in the line as it stands, something, which cannot easily be dispensed with: I mean a possessive pronoun to agree with *νία*. The line, I think, should be read thus:—

*καὶ πάϊς, οἶον ὃν τις ἐέλδεται ἔμμεναι νία.*

Rhythmically *οἶον ἑόν τις* is better, and for my part I should prefer to insert *ἑόν* rather than *ὃν*; but it seems probable that the form *ὃν* was the actual occupant at any rate at the time when the dittography—ON ON—resulted in the deficiency, which has been so effectually, and yet so ineffectually, filled up by the introduction of *πού*.

It may be remarked that *ὃν* or *ἑόν* gains emphasis from its position before the enclitic *τις* (cf. Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 114): otherwise *οἶον τις ὃν* would be the order of the words.

The sense now at last fully conveyed is: 'Such as many a man wishes *his own* son to be,' or as the version already mentioned has it with even stronger, but not excessive, emphasis on the (missing) pronoun: 'Such a son as many men wish to have for their own.'

A tolerably fair parallel may be seen in π 192,

*Τηλέμαχος δ' οὐ γάρ πω ἐπέθετο ὃν πατέρ' εἶναι.*

Evidently the pronoun is here indispensable, and it is equally so in ν 35.

In the following passage I find another probable, certainly possible, example of a similar loss:—

ψ 168 οὐ μέν κ' ἄλλη γ' ὦδε γυνὴ τετληότι θυμῷ  
ἀνδρὸς ἀφισταίῃ, ὅς οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας  
ἔλθοι ἐεικοστῇ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

Like *νία* in ν 35 *ἀνδρὸς* here lacks the qualifying word, that would give it the point and force which are evidently needed. I suggest its re-admission thus:—

*ἀνδρὸς ἀφισταίῃ οὐ, ὃ οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας—.*

The loss of the possessive pronoun here is not altogether surprising. The position of three pronouns in contiguity to some extent imperils their safety. I find them again, though not all crowded together, in:—

Ω 85 κλᾶτε μόνον οὐ παιδὸς ἀμύμονος, ὅς οἱ ἔμελλε—.

The possessive pronoun not unfrequently comes at the end of its clause as in A 496 παιδὸς ἐοῦ, as well as at the end of the line, as in φ 504, τ 169, θυγατέρος ἧς, γ 39 πατέρι ᾧ, E 71 πόσει ᾧ and others.

More exact parallels of the line as emended are of course lacking: but the sense urgently demands this pronoun, nor do I think the metre in any degree less worthy than before of the great poet, qui nil molitur inepte.

\*

υ 83 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν ἔχει κακόν, ὅπποτε κέν τις  
ἤματα μὲν κλαίῃ πυκινῶς ἀκαχημένος ἦτορ,  
νύκτας δ' ὕπνος ἔχῃσιν,—

For ἀλλὰ τό Duentzer conjectured ἦ μάλα, doubtless in order to get rid of the unsatisfactory nominative τό, not that τὸ μὲν cannot express 'the state of things,' as described in the next clause, ὅπποτε το ἔχῃσιν, but τὸ μὲν ἔχει κακόν, 'this involves an evil,' though a legitimate expression in later times, is foreign to the Homeric usage of ἔχω. Instances in point are:—

σ 73 ἦ τάχα Ἴρος ἄϊρος ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν ἔξει.

λ 482 — ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἔχω κακά.

σ 123 — ἀτὰρ νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι = υ 200,

and reference may be made to such passages as α 34, δ 164, ε 336, θ 182, λ 582, 593, ξ 215, ο 344, ρ 142, 318, τ 168, E 895, O 10, Π 109, P 445.

Accordingly J. Savelsberg rightly concludes that ἔχει here must have a personal subject, which he finds in τις understood; 'A man bears an affliction, yet that an endurable one, when &c.' 'malum sustinet et id sustinendum quidem.' The awkwardness

of τὸ μὲν however is manifest. I would suggest that the true reading may be deciphered from the vulgate thus:—

ἀλλὰ θ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν ἔχει κακόν,—

This gives us as an additional advantage the proper opposition or contrast between ὁ μὲν here and αὐτὰρ ἐμοί (l. 87), which previously was less effectively, because less accurately, given by the τὸ μὲν.

Ἀλλὰ τε ὁ might easily become ἀλλὰ τό since this particular use of τε with ἀλλὰ passed out of fashion and so almost out of knowledge. It may be seen with the same gnomic force as here, in the following passages:—

B 754 ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἡὺτ' ἔλαιον·

K 225 ἀλλὰ τέ οἱ βράσσων τε νόος, λεπτή δέ τε μῆτις.

P 677 ἀλλὰ τ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ | ἔσσυτο (sc. αἰετός).

T 165 ἀλλὰ τε λάθρη γυῖα βαρύνεται,—

X 192 ἀλλὰ τ' ἀνιχνεύων θέει ἔμπεδον, ὄφρα κεν εὔρη·

Φ 577 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ δουρὶ πεπαρμένη οὐκ ἀπολήγει—

μ 44 ἀλλὰ τε Σειρήνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ,—

64 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λῖς πέτρη·

67 ἀλλὰ θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακάς τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν.

Compare also Δ 484, and see Monro H. G. § 332.

Let us now turn for a moment to two notable passages, where the irregular use of the article as a relative has given rise to much discussion:

A 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολίων ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται.

δ 349 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι ἔειπε γέρων ἄλιος νημερτής,—

τῶν οὐδέν τοι ἐγὼ κρύψω ἔπος οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω.

Mr Monro (H. G. § 262) has suggested ἀλλὰ θ' ἃ μὲν, but without convincing such authorities as Prof. Jebb and Prof. Platt (Journ. Phil. xxv p. 99). I believe the requirements of the two cases would be satisfactorily met by supposing that the original readings were respectively:—

ἀλλ' ἃ τε μὲν πολίων ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται,—

ἀλλ' ἃ τε μὲν μοι ἔειπε γέρων ἄλιος νημερτής.

This change is practically no more than the confusion of a

single letter, and would establish the consistency of Homeric usage on this not-unimportant point.

To return however to *ἀλλά τε*, it will be convenient here to notice a passage in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, where so sturdy a friend even to impossibilities of tradition as the editor of Goodwin's *Hymni Homerici*, Mr T. W. Allen, has forsaken his MSS. to follow a conjecture of Gemoll's, who displaces *τε* in favour of *γε* in l. 110:—

οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτησι εἰσκεις;  
ἀλλὰ καταθνητῇ τε, γυνῇ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ.

In favour of the retention of *τε* here I would urge, that there can be no question but that mortality is a permanent characteristic, and if it be said that the position of *τε* is unusual, the answer is, it is not unexampled, as witness Π 688 = P 176:—

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσω νόος ἢ ἐπερ ἀνδρῶν

and in fact the principle of emphasis, already insisted on in these papers, is illustrated by the interposition of the emphasised adjective between *ἀλλά* and *τε*.

In Π 688 and P 176 I should hardly have supposed any one would be rash enough to propose to write *αἰεὶ γε*, though indeed some MSS. would support the change in the former passage. But it seems it is equally rash to venture to set limits to the flight of literary rashness; for I find that this very proposal has been made by Barnes on P 176, where no MSS. are in its favour. For my own part I accept the tradition: I believe that in these passages *αἰεὶ* gains in emphasis by its position, and if so, it is equally certain that *καταθνητῇ* in the Homeric Hymn could bear a like emphatic enforcement.

\*

υ 194 δύσμορος, ἧ τε ἔοικε δέμας βασιλῆι ἄνακτι·  
ἀλλὰ θεοὶ δυώσι πολυπλάγκτους ἀνθρώπους,  
ὅππότε καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπικλώσωνται οἰζύν.

The last of these lines is distressingly awkward. It is a veritable stumbling-block. Duentzer rejects it altogether from his text; others try to make the best of a bad case. Perhaps

nothing could show more clearly and easily the inadmissibility of the text, as it stands, than to translate ll. 195–6 accurately and then to point out in plain terms what the Greek words implicitly, but inevitably convey. For this purpose I will take Messrs Butcher and Lang's rendering, which is quite unexceptionable:—"The gods mar the goodliness of wandering men, when even for kings they have woven the web of trouble." Or here to the very same effect is Mr Monro's literal version in his recent (1901) commentary:—"The gods mar the form of much-wandering men, when they decree even to kings the lot of sorrow."

The only inference that can be drawn from such a statement, and the Greek alone is responsible for its curious absurdity, is this, that whereas the gods at certain periods find it necessary to bring affliction upon men, sparing none, not even kings, at these times tramps and travellers (πολύπλαγκτοι ἄνθρωποι) are severe sufferers, or briefly, when the gods run amuck against all and sundry, vagrants, &c. bear the brunt. 'First come first served,' is the motto of the gods on these occasions. It is certain the poet never dreamed for a moment of any such theological doctrine. Hence we have Ameis telling us that *καὶ βασιλεῦσιν* is a brachylogy for 'über dieselben, selbst wenn sie Könige sind,' and Mr Monro telling us 'that the words *καὶ βασιλεῦσιν* belong logically to the principal clause' and that 'the effect of their postponement is that they come in as an afterthought,' though, so far from being an afterthought, it is only because Odysseus looked like a king that ll. 195–6 are spoken at all. The governing thought is:—'but his royal bearing did not avail to save him, for &c.'

Accordingly the real difficulty is not so much that *καὶ βασιλεῦσιν* is in the wrong place, as that the real indirect object after *ἐπικλώσονται* cannot be omitted by brachylogy or anything else. It is absolutely required in the interests of lucidity, ut jam nunc dicat jam nunc debentia dici. If now we read the line thus:—

οἷσί τε καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπικλώσονται διζύν,

all difficulty vanishes at once. I render the whole passage:—

‘But the gods reduce to sorry plight the far-wandering men, to whomsoever, be they even kings, they have decreed the doom of misery.’

I have one further remark to make. The epithet *πολυπλάγκτους* is not to be passed over lightly. It is here almost, if not quite, proleptic. The *οἰζύν*, ‘the doom of misery,’ is *πλαγκτοσύνη*. No worse thing can befall a man, as our own Charles II, who did not wish ‘to be sent again on his travels,’ well knew. Compare again our author:—

ο 343 *πλαγκτοσύνης δ' οὐκ ἔστι κακώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν.*

\*

υ 209 *ὦ μοι ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς μ' ἐπὶ βουσὶν  
εἶσ' ἔτι τυτθὸν ἐόντα Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δῆμῳ·  
νῦν δ' αἱ μὲν γίνονται ἀθέσφατοι, οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως  
ἀνδρὶ γ' ὑποσταχύοιτο βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετώπων.*

If the last clause be right, we surely have here the most ineffective and absurdly inappropriate metaphor in the whole range of the Homeric poems. According to the text oxen are said in quite a casual way to ‘sprout like corn-spikes’ (*σταχύς*). As an Aristophanic burlesque of such expressions as ‘Man cometh up as a flower,’ *ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνει ἴσος* (Σ 57), *φίλον θάλος*, the word might be tolerable and laughable; but if it is to be taken seriously as Homeric, I would suggest to commentators—the view is quite a novelty—that the Poet, or we may say with some of our German friends, the Botcher, evidently intended to compliment the cattle on the excellent development of their horns. Not only are these oxen vastly more numerous, but no one could show beasts with finer horns. Thus every suspicion of tautology is beautifully eliminated.

For my own part I am not prepared to accept either (1) the full native comic force of the verb, or (2) the usual evasive toning-down of the meaning into ‘thrive,’ ‘increase,’ or again (3) the more exact, even if trivial, explanation just recommended to scholars of the mumpsimus-cult. *ὑποσταχύοιτο* must, I believe, be abjured altogether and for ever as a

corruption, only respectable from its antiquity, which cannot be, and need not be questioned.

If now we wish to try to ascertain what the poet really said, the first essential is, by a new division of the transmitted words, in place of the somewhat awkward *dativus commodi*, ἀνδρί γ', to restore the more natural and suitable expression

ἀνδρί γ' ὕπο.

I call this more natural and suitable, not only because the responsibility of the man is the main point, but because the term is strictly correlative to the preceding ἐπὶ βουσί. The herdsman is ἐπὶ βουσί, 'in charge of the oxen' l. 209 (cf. ἐπ' δίεσσι E 137, Ζ 424, 25, Α 106), and the oxen are ὑπὸ βουκόλῳ, 'in charge of the herdsman.' This slight change I advocate as a necessity, even supposing we maintain intact the residual verb, σταχύοιτο, which stript of its prepositional ornament is quite as desirable, or undesirable, as it was before.

Perhaps indeed the form, if this verb be retained, should rather be σταχυῶτο, as some MSS. give it, from σταχυόω: but I am not concerned to maintain this, for the whimsical oddity of the sense leads me, as I have said, to reject the word altogether. I suggest that originally the clause ran thus:—

οὐδέ κεν ἄλλῳ  
ἀνδρί γ' ὕφ' ὥς στιχάοιτο βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετώπων.

"nor in charge of another, being but man, would the broad-browed oxen move so orderly."

This is the proper sense of στιχάομαι, ordine composito progredior, ἐν ταξει πορεύομαι Et. Mag. In later times the word fell out of use and, as it failed to convey its proper meaning to the popular ear, the ingenious turn of the vulgate would naturally supplant it in the favour of rhapsodists and their hearers.

ἄλλῳ is not entirely without authority, ἄλλω FH with a letter erased at the end, ἄλλω XU. Obviously in these instances ἄλλῳ must be intended, and was actually used according to N. Heinsius in the MS. of Vespasian Gonzaga di Columna of uncertain date.

Lastly, while the palaeographic difference between the two readings is not very great either to the ear or to the eye, something may be said to show the adequacy of the new reading to the requirements of the passage. The speaker, Philoetius, with pardonable vanity is contrasting the state of affairs both with regard to the herds and to himself at the time when he was first put in charge of them by his master and now. Then, he says, he was a mere lad (*ἔτι τυτθὸν ἔοντα*), and so the task was almost beyond his powers: now the oxen are vastly increased in number, but for all that he has them under perfect control. Any one who has watched a herd of cows being driven to and from the pasture, will appreciate the skill to which he lays claim. They do not always proceed *ordine composito*. He prides himself on being an experienced herdsman. You would not find his equal, much less a better, unless of course you were lucky enough to secure the services of a god to look after the live-stock, as the story tells of Admetus, B 763:—

ἵπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαο,  
τὰς Εὖμηλος ἔλασσε—,  
τὰς ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων.

In short Philoetius desires to show, that the kindness of Odysseus to a little lad was well bestowed and not thrown away. He had not been a careless or incompetent herdsman. As the numbers of the oxen increased, so their keeper became a master-hand in the performance of his special work.

\*

υ 309                    ἤδη γὰρ νοέω καὶ οἶδα ἕκαστα,  
ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια· πάρος δ' ἔτι νῆπιος ἦα.

The above lines occur also σ 228 f., where however Aristarchus and Aristophanes join in disallowing the second one. Here it stands unquestioned, and is doubtless genuine enough except in one point of detail; for whatever we may be prepared to accept with respect to the Homeric use of the article (*v. Monro*, H. G. §§ 256–264, whose valuable summary unfortunately takes no account of the possibility—nay, the probability—that

in many cases the article is a mere modernisation), it is next door to impossible to believe that *ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια* is, or ever was, a tolerable form of expression. It is easy to defend the *τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων* of Thucydides; but would that writer have indulged in, or would any scholar like to have to justify, *τὸν πόλεμον Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*? No defence would be accepted for a moment, even though it took the form of Ameis's comment here:—*der Artikel zur Verschärfung des Gegensatzes*. It is obvious that, if this convenient and facile form of pointing a contrast had been legitimate, we should have had somewhere about fifty or sixty instances of this type, instead of one, in Homer. The fact is *τά* here as the article is just as erroneous for Homer as for any other later writer. Perhaps as a relative something might be said in its favour; but the treatment would hardly be convincing. Still it brings us a step nearer to the suggestion I have to offer, to the effect that the vulgate has arisen from the obscuration and corruption of:—

*ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἅττα χέρεια.*

This would be a natural expression, whether we explain it as an inversion of *ἅττα ἐσθλὰ καὶ χέρεια*, or as an abbreviation of the fuller phrase *ἅττα ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἅττα χέρεια*.

Palaeographically the transition from *ΚΑΙΑΤΤΑ* to *ΤΕ-ΚΑΙΤΑ* is not very difficult; but this point need not be dwelt upon. It has in other forms often been elaborated by others both in the pages of this Journal and elsewhere. There remains the question whether *ἅττα* would be correct Homerically for *ἅτινα*. The difficulty to be surmounted is that our tradition seems to give only *ἄσσα* in Homeric verse for *ἅτινα*, e.g.:—

A 554 *ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηλος τὰ φράζειαι ἄσσ' ἐθέλησθα.*

K 208 *ἄσσα τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσιν,—*

Υ 127 *ὕστερον αὖτε τὰ πείσεται, ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα—*

ε 188 *ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέω καὶ φράσσομαι, ἄσσ' ἂν ἐμοί περ—*

η 197 *πείσεται, ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα κατὰ Κλῶθές τε βαρεῖαι—*

λ 74 *ἀλλὰ με κακῆναι σὺν τεύχεσιν, ἄσσα μοί ἐστι,*

I 367 *ἄξομαι, ἄσσ' ἔλαχόν γε·*

But it may well be that this is only due to later transcribers,

as the  $\tau$  is certainly the older letter, ᾶ  $\tau\alpha$ . Quite possibly the truth is revealed in such a line as:—

σ 142 ἀλλ' ὃ γε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοῖεν,

where ὅττι may represent a more regularly grammatical, though of course not absolutely necessary, ᾶττα. Still more suggestive in the same sense is the case of:—

ο 317 αἰψά κεν εὖ δρώοιμι μετὰ σφίσιν ὅττ' ἐθέλοιν.

The MSS. are divided between ὅττ' ἐθέλοιν and ὅττι θέλοιν except for the ὅτι θέλοιν of D. Now we are pretty sure for obvious reasons that neither of these alternatives can be right. Consequently the best editions follow the conclusion arrived at by Lehrs and adopt in spite of all MSS. ᾶσσο' ἐθέλοιν as the reading of Aristarchus. I submit that the unanimous vulgate is most easily accounted for, if we suppose the original was:—

ᾶττ' ἐθέλοιν.

If so, ἐσθλὰ καὶ ᾶττα χέρεια ought to satisfy the palaeographers: but whether they can be satisfied or not, I contend that such a reading has far more Homeric probability than the anomalous tradition.

\*

φ 6 εἴλετο δὲ κληῖδ' ἐνκαμπέα χειρὶ παχείῃ.

Here we have a corruption perhaps not difficult to remedy with some probability, certainly not difficult to detect. Ludwig quotes on this passage Et. Flor. ap. Miller Mél. 308 “χειρὶ παχείῃ” σημαίνει τὸ ἐρρωμένη καὶ εὐτραφεῖ· ἔνιοι δὲ μετέγραψαν τὸ “χερσὶ φίλησιν,” ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ ἀκύρως ἐπὶ γυναικὶ εἰρῆσθαι τὸ “παχείῃ.”

I do not accept this correction; but I must confess that after due consideration I cannot bring myself to believe that the epithet here attached to the hand of Penelope is anything more than an inopportune reminiscence, a mechanical reiteration, of the fourteen other instances, in which χειρὶ παχείῃ is found in reference to men and gods, to wit, Menelaus, Aeneas, Hector, Agamemnon, Dolon, Ajax, Achilles, Asteropaeus, Odysseus, Ctesippus, Poseidon, always or nearly always, be it

observed, in reference to strong, vigorous and even violent action.

Of this character clearly are the two instances of the use of the expression in respect of a goddess, the mighty Athene, when she picks up the huge boulder to fling at Ares, and again when she strikes down the weaker Artemis (Φ 403 and 424).

It is perhaps hardly necessary to go beyond Homer for the analogous application to Hera (Hym. Apoll. 340), when she beats the earth vehemently in her appeal to the powers below.

Obviously none of these passages can lend any real support to *χειρὶ παχείῃ* here, where Penelope, a gentle lady in every sense, is merely taking up a key, which is described as handsome and—an important point perhaps, for ladies in all ages of the world are the same in some respects—adorned with an ivory handle:—

*καλήν, χαλκείην· κώπη δ' ἐλέφαντος ἐπῆεν.* (v.l. *χρυσείην*.)

Moreover the whole usage is, I submit, absolutely against any attempt to treat the expression as stereotyped. It has surely no resemblance to anything of that kind. Suitableness to the occasion is never lost sight of save in this one instance. So far from being stereotyped, the case is practically unique, while no rendering of the tradition can make it satisfactory or even tolerable: “with her strong hand” (Butcher and Lang) is quite inappropriate, and “mit der fleischigen Hand” (Ameis) strikes one as a little too Teutonic, though both versions of course derive from the *ἐρρωμένη καὶ εὐτραφεῖ* quoted above.

If these objections to the epithet hold good, as in my opinion they certainly do, it follows that the true reading has lapsed; but if comparison be made with:—

E 425 *πρὸς χρυσῇ περόνῃ κατεμύξατο χεῖρα ἀραιήν*

where the reference is to Aphrodite, to whom Penelope is compared in τ 54, there seems some probability that the original ran thus with perfect fitness and propriety:—

*εἶλετο δὲ κληῖδ' εὐκαμπέα χειρὶ ἀραιῇ* (i.e. *Ἰαριῇ*)

“with her *slim* hand” or, if the recent Boer war has spoiled this epithet, “with her *dainty* hand.”

If it be asked fairly enough, why *χειρὶ ἀραιῇ* should have been lost, while *χεῖρα ἀραιήν* was saved, the answer is that even in this matter scrupulous respect has been shown to the Poet, who, as it happens, never once used *χεῖρα παχειήν*, but many times said *χειρὶ παχειῇ*. The one has his warrant, the other has not.

\*

φ 98 ἦ τοι οἴστοῦ γε πρῶτος γεύσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

The particle *γε* here must strike every one as curious and abnormal. In sense it appears to give emphasis to *οἴστοῦ*, which is already sufficiently emphasised by its position; in its metrical effect it is hard to parallel and seems somewhat suggestive of choking, though I hope no one will believe the poet had any such malicious intention. Few however will be disposed to disagree with van Leeuwen and da Costa in their brief pronouncement ‘versus durior.’ Unfortunately they proceed to suggest, though only tentatively, a violent cure—*remedium durius morbo*—thus:—

ἦ τοι γεύσεσθαί γε οἴστοῦ πρῶτος ἔμελλε.

I venture to think that the line may be successfully treated by a far easier process than this attempt to bring forward the verb for *γε* to emphasise, with the additional novelty of a hiatus too hastily deemed licitus by many scholars.

Duentzer (with needless severity) condemns the three lines 98–100. Rejecting this alternative I offer as a true restoration of the line to its original shape:—

ἦ τοι οἴστοῦ ὃ γε πρῶτος γεύσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

This appears to me simple and satisfactory. Palaeographically the extant corruption from *οἴστόο ὃ γε* is easy.

The introduction of the pronoun at once resolves the discord and makes *γε* perfectly regular and intelligible. If it needs illustration, the position of the pronoun is the same as in

I 620 ἦ, καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ὃ γ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσε σιωπῇ.

M 240 εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα.

Cf. η 32, μ 61.

I will take the present opportunity of correcting perhaps one of the capital instances of the hiatus above referred to, which appears a little later in this book:—

195 ποῖοί κ' εἶτ' Ὀδυσῇ ἀμυνέμεν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι—.

The line should be read thus:—

ποῖοί κ' εἶτ' Ὀδυσῇ ἐπαμυνέμεν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι—.

The reason for the loss of ἐπ- is obviously the post-Homeric taboo placed on this elision (-ι of dat.).

Yet the compound verb is better than the simple one both here and in 197, where μνηστήρεσσ' ἐπαμύνουτ' should replace μνηστήρεσσιν ἀμύνουτ', by just as much as "help" is more appropriate than "defend."

\*

φ 228 παύεσθον κλαυθμοῖο γόοιό τε, μή τις ἴδηται  
ἐξελθὼν μεγάραιο, ἀτὰρ εἴπησι καὶ εἴσω.

For ἴδηται Fick has suggested ἴκηται, which, though tolerable enough in itself, seems so incompatible with the following ἐξελθὼν, that we should then be tempted to substitute ἔκτοσθε, or something equivalent, for the disabled participle. van Leeuwen and da Costa offer ἀκούσῃ doubtfully. This does not clash seriously with ἐξελθὼν, but it leaves the corruption to ἴδηται quite incomprehensible. Perhaps ἴδηται is not so much at fault as τις, which is not really required at all by the Homeric idiom. The participle alone is sufficient, as could be shown by many instances, e.g. ε 400 ὅσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας. I incline to think we might safely read:—

μή τι φίδηται (cf. A 522, κ 24).

But I am more concerned to deal with l. 229, which, as it stands, suffers from two defects. Firstly, there is the hiatus in the third foot, allowed by some, it is true, but in reality a fault and, as I have had occasion frequently to note, attended in most cases, as it is here, by some other difficulty. Secondly, and this may be taken to be the serious part of the matter, the clause ἀτὰρ εἴπησι καὶ εἴσω, fairly rendered by "but should tell it inside too," coheres hardly, or not at all, with the

preceding words. We have *ἀτάρ* properly used in the immediate sequel, in the very next lines. I give the passage as it continues:—

ἀλλὰ προμνηστῖνοι ἐσέλθετε, μηδ' ἅμα πάντες,  
πρῶτος ἐγώ, μετὰ δ' ὕμμες· ἀτὰρ τόδε σῆμα τετύχθω·

In l. 229 however *ἀτάρ* is distinctly a disturbing element, which cannot well be ignored. The remedy I suggest is to read the line thus:—

ἐξελθὼν μεγάρου, ὃ δ' ἄφαρ εἴπησι καὶ εἴσω,

“and he should tell it at once inside also.”

The pronoun *ὃ* would easily be lost, as *μεγάρου ὃ* would be written *μεγάροιο ὃ*, cf. *φ* 98, p. 214; so beyond the addition of *δ'* there is only the easy change of *ἀτάρ* into *ἄφαρ*. The superiority of the latter here is sufficiently obvious, and the corruption may with great probability be traced to the presence of *ἀτάρ* in l. 231.

It would hardly be satisfactory to leave unnoticed a line, which undoubtedly bears a strong formal resemblance to the one that has been here dealt with. I refer to *χ* 373:—

ὄφρα γνῶς κατὰ θυμόν, ἀτὰρ εἴπησθα καὶ ἄλλω—.

I will not say dogmatically, that *γνῶς* is incorrect for *γνώης*, but assuredly we should gain rather than lose by reading:—

ὄφρα γνοὺς κατὰ θυμόν ἄφαρ εἴπησθα καὶ ἄλλω,  
and this I offer as the real solution of this curious coincidence.

\*

*φ* 259      τίς δέ κε τόξα τιταίνοιτ'; ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι  
κάτθετ'· ἀτὰρ πελέκεας γε καὶ εἴ κ' εἰῶμεν ἅπαντας  
ἐστάμεν· οὐ μὲν γάρ τιν' ἀναιρήσεσθαι οἶω  
ἐλθόντ' ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος.

It can hardly be doubted that apart from the merely verbal depravations of *πελέκεας* for *πελέκεις* and *εἰῶμεν* for *ἐάωμεν* the sentence, *ἀτάρ*—*ἐστάμεν*, has suffered in transmission. The extent of the corruption is very uncertain; but perhaps the simplest method of restoring a tolerable reading would be to substitute *αὖθι* for *εἴ κε*:—

ἀτὰρ πελέκυσ γε καὶ αὖθ' ἐάωμεν ἅπαντας  
ἐστάμεν·

"But let us leave all the axes to stand just where they are."

This might serve: but καὶ αὖθ' inevitably suggests κατ' αὖθ' or καταὔθ', and we arrive at:—

ἀτὰρ πελέκυσ γε καταὔθ' ἐάωμεν ἅπαντας  
ἐστάμεν,

"But the axes let us leave them all to stand where they are."

Other suggestions have been made καὶ (or κατ') ἦκ' εἰῶμεν Bothe: κεν ἦκ' εἰῶμεν Bergk: καὶ εὖ κ' εἰῶμεν Axt. This last may be immediately dismissed as giving an absolutely inadmissible position to κε. But neither ἦκα nor εὖ is very attractive or appropriate here.

If we regard palaeographic considerations only, κεῖθι 'yonder' would represent the traditional εἴ κε more closely than αὖθι does: but this would necessitate either the omission of γε (om. GX et in lac. cod. A Ariston. II 559 [Ludwich])

ἀτὰρ πελέκυσ καὶ κεῖθ' ἐάωμεν ἅπαντας  
ἐστάμεν·

or the slight change of καί into κε and of εἰῶμεν into the optative with Bergk and Axt, εἰῶμεν i.e. ἐάοιμεν, as it ought to be written. Unfortunately however the caesura is then most unsatisfactory:—

ἀτὰρ πελέκυσ γέ κε κεῖθ' ἐάοιμεν ἅπαντας  
ἐστάμεν,

"But all the axes we might leave to stand yonder."

It seems then a choice has to be made between:—

- (1) γε καὶ αὖθ'
- (2) γε καταὔθ' (κατ' αὖθ')
- (3) καὶ κεῖθ'

and the second should I think be preferred, if only because καί gives an overdue emphasis to the following adverb.

Perhaps Duentzer's πελέκεας δυοκαίδεκ' ἐῶμεν may be worth recording for its misdirected ingenuity. It is unmetrical because of the diaeresis in the fourth foot and makes ἅπαντας

quite inadmissibly prosaic. Even as matters stand, Prof. Hartman with too severe a logic condemns *ἅπαντας* as corrupt. To me the word, though it be logically superfluous, seems natural and right.

For the rest, *ἀναιρήσεσθαι* is probably a modernisation that has displaced *ἀναρρήσεσθαι* i.e. *ἀναφρήσεσθαι*, as suggested in Journ. Phil. xxvi, pp. 119–20.

As the result of the considerations here tentatively advanced the passage would, I believe, gain, if not its pristine purity, at least some amelioration of its present harshness by being read thus:—

τίς δέ κε τόξα τιταίνουιτ' ; ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι  
κάτθεται· ἀτὰρ πελέκυσ γε καταῦθ' ἑάωμεν ἅπαντας  
ἑστάμεν· οὐ μὲν γάρ τιν' ἀναρρήσεσθαι οἶω  
ἐλθόντ' ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος.

\*

φ 318 μηδέ τις ὑμείων τοῦ γ' εἵνεκα θυμὸν ἀχέων  
ἐνθάδε δαινύσθω, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικεν.

With these words Penelope concludes her repudiation of the idea that she would regard the success of the beggar-man in his attempt to bend the bow as giving him a claim to her hand in marriage. He himself, she says, is under no such delusion; neither, she proceeds, ought any of the suitors to be so. There is however a marked peculiarity of expression in these two lines, which has not escaped the attention at any rate of the latest editor, Mr Monro. He points out truly enough that “the logical predicate is *θυμὸν ἀχέων*, the sense being, ‘let no one of you that feast here vex his soul on that account.’”

So true is this, that had the first line only appeared with *ἀχέοι* or an equivalent imperative:—

μηδέ τις ὑμείων τοῦ γ' εἵνεκα θυμὸν ἀχέοι.

if the speech had ended so, the meaning would have been sufficient and complete in itself. The next line therefore—and this is the main strand of my argument—merely adds what may be called subordinate detail to the principal prohibition. Moreover to some extent the main proposition is thrown into the

background by this lengthy appendix of less important matter. To use a familiar illustration, the tail is as long as the dog. The only poetical, and really effective arrangement, would be that the chief predication should come last, after the subordinate detail, and this is probably the way the lines should stand, if we wish to have them as originally uttered by the poet:—

μηδέ τις ὑμείων, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικεν,  
ἐνθάδε δαινύσθω τοῦ γ' εἵνεκα θυμὸν ἀχέων.

“Let no one of you—it would not indeed be meet so to do—while he feasts here, on that score vex his soul.”

Now if nothing could have been urged against this couplet as tradition gives it save the hiatus in the third foot of l. 319, it would perhaps have availed little to raise any question about its correctness. Still this hiatus is at least confirmatory evidence in favour of the change now made.

The new order of the words certainly conveys Penelope's meaning with enhanced emphasis and effect, and if no *hiatus licitus* be left in the lines, surely no one need vex his soul on that score.

\*

φ 402 αἶ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν,  
ὥς οὗτός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανύσασθαι.

This is the speech of one of the suitors, as they all watch Odysseus handling and examining his bow. Mr Monro in his note says it is a piece of poetical irony and translates thus:— ‘Would that the fellow (οὗτος) may benefit by it in proportion as he is sure of being able to string this bow.’ ‘As he shall be able’ is perhaps necessary, as the measure is not the confidence of Odysseus in his own ability to perform the feat, but his power to do so. ‘May his profit equal his achievement,’ is the sense. The implication is, that both will be nil. The irony is two-fold. First on the part of the suitor, who evidently does not believe that the beggar-fellow will be able to string the bow. Secondly, on the part of the poet, who wishes his hearers to see that the wish was really fulfilled, but not as the speaker intended.

There are, however, some serious objections to the passage as it stands. οὗτος properly belongs to the first clause; τοσοῦτον and ὥς are not satisfactory correlatives; and last, but not least, ποτέ in the second clause has no meaning whatever, and is most judiciously ignored by all the commentators and translators. So far now from thinking the temporal adverb is of little moment, it seems to me to be a crucial point and to afford a valuable clue towards the complete restoration of this embarrassed couplet, which in short I propose to read thus:—

αἶ γὰρ δὴ τῶς οὗτος ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν,  
ὥς οὐ τίς ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανύσασθαι.

“May this fellow find blessing (i.e. have his attempt blest with success, cf. ὀνήμενος β 33 &c.) so and no otherwise, as one and all shall never be able to string this bow.”

The negative is necessarily implied by ποτέ, and as soon as this fact is recognised, the rest follows with the utmost facility.

When τῶς had become obsolete, the transliteration of τοσοῦτος, i.e. τῶς οὗτος, into τοσοῦτος would be inevitable, and the pressure of metre and meaning would soon evolve the traditional τοσσοῦτον (cf. B 330 τῶς and τόσσ’ Aristarchus). Then follows the necessary change of οὐ τίς into οὗτος, with the result that the unfortunate ποτέ is left forsaken and friendless, positively in a state of suspended animation, as we see it in our texts.

For τῶς with its correlative ὥς compare Γ 415:—

τῶς δέ σ’ ἀπεχθήρω, ὥς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα.

Clearly, as every body is sure to fail in the attempt, the ironical suitor in wishing Odysseus success so far as is compatible with this *universal* failure, which is to last *for ever*, gives away very little.

\*

χ 21 σῆτός τε κρέα τ’ ὀπτὰ φορύνετο. τοὶ δ’ ὀμάδησαν  
\* μνηστῆρες κατὰ δῶμαθ’, ὅπως ἴδον ἄνδρα πεσόντα,  
ἐκ δὲ θρόνων ἀνόρουσαν ὀρινθέντες κατὰ δῶμα,  
πάντοσε παπταίνοντες ἐυδμήτους ποτὶ τοίχους·  
οὐδέ πη ἀσπὶς ἔην οὐδ’ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἐλέσθαι.  
νείκειον δ’ Ὀδυσῆα χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσιν.

Duentzer deleted from the passage ll. 24—5. Kirchhoff, with whom Mr Monro (1891) agrees, regards the two lines and “probably l. 23” as a spurious later addition. Since the suitors do not yet think they are in any personal danger, imagining, as they do, that Antinous had been slain by an accident, there is no occasion for them to look for weapons on the walls. This argument seems quite sound, and disposes of ll. 24—5; but I must demur altogether to the inclusion of the graphic l. 23 in this condemnation. It seems to me morally certain that this line is genuine, and equally certain, as I will try to show, that l. 22 is not. The only real objection to l. 23 is that *κατὰ δῶμα* virtually repeats the *κατὰ δῶμαθ’* (*δῶμα* FPZ) of l. 22. But what if l. 22 be the real offender? My objection to l. 22 is that it is useless and manifestly owes its origin to a supposed necessity to define precisely who are meant by the *τοί* in *τοί δ’ ὁμάδησαν*. There is of course no such necessity, as may easily be shown. Whenever there is no real ambiguity, *τοί δέ* (*οί δέ*) is used frequently without further definition. A striking example of this is *ω* 205, where the persons referred to have not been brought directly forward since the conclusion of the last book. So *Λ* 618, *Ψ* 26, *ε* 200, *δ* 1, *κ* 109, and *passim*.

The interpolator having then for the reason mentioned written down *μνηστήρες*, which explains *τοί* most correctly, then borrowed *κατὰ δῶματα* from the end of the next line and finally completed his verse by a happy reminiscence of *Λ* 745:—

*ἔτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἄνδρα πεσόντα—*,

with a slight contamination of *Λ* 459 *ὅπως ἴδον*. The passage would accordingly originally read thus:—

*σῆτος τε κρέα τ’ ὅπτα φορύνετο. τοί δ’ ὁμάδησαν  
ἐκ δὲ θρόνων ἀνόρουσαν ὀρινθέντες κατὰ δῶμα,  
νείκειον δ’ Ὀδυσῆα χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσιν.*

\*

*χ* 116 *αὐτὰρ ὃ γ’, ὅφρα μὲν αὐτῷ ἀμύνεσθαι ἔσαν ἰοί,*

There is no variant of moment in our MSS. except *ἀμύνασθαι*, which has some support: still the preceding l. 106:—

*οἶσε θέων, εἴως μοι ἀμύνεσθαι πύρ’ οἰστοί,—*

of which this l. 116 is the formal repetition, almost as much, to take a familiar example, as are words duly delivered by a messenger, makes it very doubtful whether the gross hiatus in the fifth foot—not even *licitus*—ought really to be tolerated.

This feeling of doubt is considerably increased and deepened, when we remember how unwilling the ancient grammarians have frequently shown themselves to acquiesce in the ellipse of the substantive verb, as it is called, in past time. Copious illustrations of this—shall I call it?—desire for abstract completeness having led to the production of whole lines of varying merit might easily be given. Several have already been discussed in these papers, *v.* Note on  $\omega$  336, p. 246.

One instance of the kind is particularly interesting, because we possess through Aristonicus the valuable criticism upon it of Aristarchus himself:—

Φ 569 ἐν δὲ ἴα ψυχῇ, θνήτον δέ εἰ φασ' ἄνθρωποι  
ἔμμεναι· αὐτὰρ οἱ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει.

In the former line ἐν δὲ *F'* ἴα ψυχῇ should be read (*F'* = *Foi*). On the latter here is the scholium:—

ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι ὡς ἐλλείποντος τοῦ λόγου ἐνέταξέ τις αὐτόν. δεῖ δὲ τῷ “θνήτον δέ εἰ φασ' ἄνθρωποι” προσυπακούειν τὸ εἶναι. καὶ ὅτι ἐπιφερόμενον τὸ “αὐτὰρ οἱ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει” ἐναντίον ἐστι τῷ προτρέποντι τὸν Ἀγήνορα ἀντιστῆναι τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ.

This is pretty conclusive against Φ 570, and there are many others of the kind, *v.* La Roche's note on Ω 558. If one be wanted from the Odyssey, η 52 will serve the turn.

Here this same tendency has turned the original

παρ' ὀιστοί

into the unmetrical ἔσαν ἰοί, which should be ousted without hesitation.

Even earlier in this line αὐτῷ is probably a later modification, and if so, the assimilation of the verse to its prototype l. 106 may be made still closer by reading it thus:—

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' εἶως μέν οἱ ἀμύνεσθαι παρ' ὀιστοί.

χ 302 οἱ δ' ὥς τ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμφώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι  
 ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλθόντες ἐπ' ὀρνίθεσσι θόρωσι·  
 ταὶ μὲν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεα πτώσσουσαι ἔνται  
 οἱ δέ τε τὰς ὀλέκουσιν ἐπάλμενοι, οὐδέ τις ἀλκὴ  
 γίγνεται οὐδὲ φυγὴ· χαίρουσι δέ τ' ἄνδρες ἄγρη·

This fine simile is marred only by one word. Remove this one word and all is consistent and plain from the beginning to the end. It is indeed a curious fact, that this particular word, *νέφεα* (l. 304), is removable not only without detriment to the description, but with manifest advantage to both sense and grammar. Let us make the experiment by translating the passage.

“But they (Odysseus and his men), just as vultures with crooked talons and curved beaks come from the heights and dash at the smaller birds. These on the low-land cower and scurry about, while the great birds pounce upon them and kill them. There is neither resistance nor escape: and men rejoice to see the sport.”

There is nothing here to cause even the slightest difficulty. But now let *νέφεα* resume its place, and all is confusion. The commentators are at logger-heads, almost at one another's heads. We have the authority of ancient scholia and Eustathius for taking *νέφεα* as = ‘nets,’ ‘fowling-nets,’ so that *νέφεα πτώσσουσαι* may mean either (1) “shunning the clouds” or (2) “shunning the nets.” If the latter be accepted, then the *αἰγυπιοί* become trained falcons, and the *ἄνδρες*, instead of being merely deeply interested shepherds or rustics, are fowlers pursuing their proper calling. Here is the picture:—

Not half so keen fierce vultures of the chase  
 Stoop from the mountains on the feathered race,  
 When the wide field extended snares beset  
 With conscious dread they shun the quivering net:  
 No help, no flight; but wounded every way,  
 Headlong they drop: the fowlers seize the prey.

POPE.

This view of the passage is still held by Naber (Quest. Hom. p. 63 f.), but is generally rejected as inconsistent with *ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλθόντες*. On the other hand if (2) “shunning the clouds” be

taken, we have to understand, either that the birds are trying to avoid a storm which is raging in the mountains, or that they are quitting the cloudy highlands, where their natural enemies, the αἰγυπιοί, have their homes and haunts. There is still however another difficulty, an insurmountable one, I fear. Πτώσσω is properly an intransitive verb, meaning 'I crouch,' and νέφεα πτώσσουσαι is just as senseless in Greek, as "crouching the clouds, or nets," in English. Cf. Δ 371, E 634, H 129, Φ 14, 26, ρ 227, σ 363 and καταπτώσσω Δ 224, 340, E 254, 476. Against this array we have one doubtful passage T 427. Whatever may be the reason for the anomaly there, here I think the solution is not unattainable. I would read with the alteration of one letter only:—

ταὶ μὲν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεϊ πτώσσουσαι ἵενται.

They on the low ground cowering scurry in a drove. This sense of νέφος, though rare, is unimpeachable, as witness:—

Δ 274 τῶ δὲ κορυσσέσθην, ἅμα δὲ νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν.

Ψ 133 πρόσθε μὲν ἵππηες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν.

Π 66 εἰ δὴ κυάνεον Τρώων νέφος ἀμφιβέβηκε—.

and even more conclusively, because, as here, we have a drove or flight of small birds pursued by a falcon:—

P 755 τῶν δ' ὥς τε ψαρῶν νέφος ἔρχεται ἢ ἐκ κολοιῶν,  
οὐλον κεκλήγοντες, ὅτε προῖδωσιν ἰόντα  
κίρκον, ὃ τε σμικρῇσι φόνον φέρει ὀρνίθεσσιν.

Lastly, that the dat. νέφεϊ could be used thus to describe the manner of the flight may be safely inferred from the explanation of the Instrumental Dat. given by Mr Monro, H. G. § 144: but I will add an exact parallel, which should dispel any doubt:—

Φ 606 τόφρ' ἄλλοι Τρῶες πεφοβημένοι ἦλθον ὁμίλῳ  
ἀσπάσιοι προτὶ ἄστν—.

\*

χ 422 δμωαί, τὰς μὲν τ' ἔργα διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι.—

We have here a serious depravation and a very manifest modernisation of the true epic speech. The particle τε, removed

by Bentley, is entirely out of place in a sentence, which is neither general nor indefinite (v. Monro, H. G. § 332). The verb *διδάξαμεν* in the plural can scarcely be defended in the usual way; for the picture of Eurycleia taking this means of asserting her dignity is a little too ludicrous. These objections are concurrent with the significant neglect of the digamma in *ἔργα* and *ἐργάζεσθαι*. The line has therefore been ejected from the text together with l. 423:

*εἰριά τε ξαίνειν καὶ δουλοσύνην ἀνέχεσθαι,*

by van Leeuwen and da Costa following R. P. Knight. If however the modernisations and other changes are adventitious, there is no shadow of reason for this rejection. Consequently, before the line is condemned, an effort should be made to recover its pristine form. If the effort be successful, not only is the couplet saved, but we have a useful warning against over-hasty conclusions, that this or that must be an interpolation.

The simplest change that suggests itself to me for the complete removal of the existing anomalies, would be this:—

*δμοαί, τὰς μὲν ἔργα δίδαξ' ὁμὰ ἐργάζεσθαι,*

“bond-women, whom I taught to ply their joint tasks.”

We may compare κ 41 *ὁμῇν ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαντες*—but it is hardly requisite to illustrate *ὁμός* at any length—the twelve women employed at the querns, υ 105—8, the recognised arrangements of the Homeric household, and in general the necessity, that slave-labour should always take the form more or less of gang-working.

The adverb *ἄμα*, I may observe, would be one letter nearer to the tradition: but it would be over-refining on the palaeographic side to give much weight to such a trifle. *Ὅμα* is near enough, and is a more likely word to have suffered extinction as, unlike the adverb, it fell into disuse and became obsolete. It is essentially an epic word.

\*

χ 460 *εἴλεον ἐν στείνει, ὅθεν οὗ πως ἦεν ἀλύξαι.*

It is exceptional to find a dat. sing. of a stem in -ες, which is not scanned, when it comes before a vowel, as a short syllable

(v. Monro, H. G. § 105, 1). This naturally arises from the elision of the *ι* of the dat.: for to take the two examples given by Mr Monro, *τείχει ὕπο Τρώων* and *ἡ ἔπει ἡ ἔργω*, an equally correct writing would be *τείχε'* and *ἐπέ'*. As ordinarily presented, these words really exhibit a relic of the earlier Greek practice of writing elided letters without visible mark of such elision, as in Latin poetry of the Augustan age and generally.

The result in our passage, *χ* 460, has been that Menrad has proposed to correct the peculiarity by reading *εἴλεον ἐν στένεϊ*—Mr Monro also says, 'originally perhaps *στένεϊ*'—or *εἴλεον ἐς στεῖνος*. The latter is adapted from *Φ* 8 *ἐς ποταμὸν εἰλεῦντο* and *X* 12 *εἰς ἄστυ ἄλεν*. The former is likewise approved and accepted by van Leeuwen and da Costa, who print with a slight modification, *φέλλον ἐνὶ στένεϊ*.

Now undoubtedly the vulgate *ἐν στείνει* is wrong in point of metre; but I do not hesitate to say that *ἐν στένεϊ* is doubly wrong. It errs both in form and metre.

The form *στένος* is utterly unknown to Homer, whether as noun or adjective (*στενός*). In later times of course the adj. is common, but the noun is less well attested, being only found in one place in a chorus of Aeschylus (*Eumen.* 520). Homer employs only *στεῖνος*, the noun, and perhaps it would be well to set forth here the usage in full. We shall thus, at least in one instance, destroy the idle fancy that *στέινος* must be used with the first syllable in arsis. Of course in general this syllable will naturally be in arsis in a metre predominantly dactylic. Such indeed will be the case also with *τείχος* or almost any other word of similar quantity.

The first passage is:—

M 66 *ίππεῦσιν στεῖνος γάρ, ὅθι τρώσεσθαι οἶω.*

L. and C. after introducing *στένεϊ* into their text (*χ* 460) remark, 'Ceteris locis *στέινος* dicitur, in arsi enim est vocis syllaba prior.' Clearly Homer used *στεῖνος*, because no such form as *στένος* was ever heard of in his time. The other passages are:—

Ψ 419 *στεῖνος ὁδοῦ κοίλης ἶδεν Ἀντίλοχος μενεχάρμης.*

Θ 476 *στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος.*

O 426 μὴ δὴ πω χάξεσθε μάχης ἐν στέινει τῶδε,—

Then again *στένει* is vainly supported by an appeal to *στένω*, Pass. *στείνομαι*. It is sad to have to demolish its last hope; but here the lexicographers are certainly at fault. The connection of *στένω* and *στείνομαι* is hardly likely to be closer than the mere lettering. *στένω*, to *groan*, is connected with *στενάχω*, *στεναχίζω*, *στοναχή*, *στόνος*, *στοναχέω*, *στονόεις*, all distinctly connoting the *vocal* expression of pain or strong feeling. On quite a different plane stand *στέινος*, *στεινωπός*, and *στείνομαι*, which have certainly nothing to do with *sound*. In the case of the first two this is admittedly true. That it is also equally true of the verb, the usage will show:—

- σ 385 θύρετρα, καὶ εὐρέα περ μάλ' ἔοντα,  
φεύγοντι στείνοιτο διέκ προθύροιο θύραζε.  
Φ 219 οὐδὲ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα δῖαν  
στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι.  
ι 219 ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βρῖθον, στείνοντο δὲ σηκοὶ  
ἀρνῶν ἢδ' ἐρίφων.  
Ξ 33 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εὐρύς περ ἐὼν ἐδυνήσατο πάσας  
αἰγιαλὸς νῆας χαδέειν, στείνοντο δὲ λαοί.  
ι 445 λάχυνφ στεινόμενος καὶ ἐμοὶ πυκινὰ φρονέοντι.

It follows then, that *στέινει* in Homer cannot under any circumstances be changed into the phantasmal *στένει*, and as the hiatus here, even if the change were possible, would only become more intolerable than ever, the remedy must be sought in another direction.

Probably:—

εἴλεον ἐν στείνεσσ', ὅθεν οὐ πῶς ἦεν ἀλύξαι.

Cf. Journ. Phil. xxvii. pp. 170—1.

The form *στείνεσσ'* was at variance with later Greek ideas; but the Greeks were content, as usual, to simplify it into *στέινει*: they left it to the moderns to propose *στένει*, an utterly impossible creation for the Homeric age, a mere incubus here, of which all may say with the poet but without regret:—

τοῦ ποτε μεμνήσεσθαι οἶομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρφ.

ψ 52 ἀλλ' ἔπει, ὄφρα σφῶϊν εὐφροσύνης ἐπιβήτον  
ἀμφοτέρω φίλον ἦτορ, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπασθε.

The grammatical difficulties of the passage are insuperable, unless we are prepared to entertain some of the wildest extravagancies of scholastic or scholiastic criticism. We may treat σφῶϊν as a nominative in defiance of accident, or as a dative in defiance of syntax. After that, we have to explain φίλον ἦτορ as an accusative of the part affected in what is called a "constructio ad sensum," because forsooth εὐφροσύνης ἐπιβήτον is equivalent to εὐφραίνεσθον.

I have no hesitation in saying that for my own part I cannot put faith in any of these things, nor can I recommend others to do so. Indeed, even if we accept the ultra-Sophoclean construction, and fling accident and syntax on this occasion to the winds, we are still faced with the difficulty, that ἐπιβήτον is a modernised form, the true Homeric form being admittedly ἐπιβήετον.

The MSS. give no variants except in the case of what is apparently one of the least important words, ἀμφοτέρω FGPHU; ἀμφοτέρων XDLW post correcturam U 2 man. cum γρ' H<sup>2</sup>; ἀμφότερον Ven. 457. This gives us two uncertain elements to deal with in the tradition, ἀμφοτέρω -ων and the corrupt ἐπιβήτον.

Let us now see what suggestions have been made for the restoration of the passage. σφῶί γ' Axt: σφῶι Kayser, Duentzer, Nauck. ἐπιβήη Becker, or as alternative φίλον ἦτορ': ἐπιβήσω Hartman, with ἀμφοτέρων, as also Bekker.

Undoubtedly, any probable or acceptable emendation must start from ἐπιβήτον. Hartman's ἐπιβήσω is not so flat as Becker's ἐπιβήη; but it seems very unlikely that the simple directness of ἐπιβήσω would ever have been displaced by the more difficult ἐπιβήτον.

I propose to read thus:—

ἀλλ' ἔπει, ὄφρα σφῶϊν εὐφροσύνης ἐπιβήσει  
ἀμφοτέρων φίλον ἦτορ, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπασθε.

"But come with me that it may transport the very hearts

of you both to the land of gladness, for ye have suffered many sorrows."

The subject to ἐπιβήσει 1 aor. subj. act. = ἐπιβήσῃ, as it would afterwards be written, and may be read here, if preferred, is "the state of affairs," "the sight of it all," pretty nearly the same as the object to ἰδοῦσα, l. 47, v. Monro's note *ad loc.*

In later times the indefiniteness of this subject would give the first impulse to tampering with the verb. Ἐπιβήτον could not but suggest itself to reciter or reader, and then of course ἀμφοτέρων necessarily gets a variant ἀμφοτέρω.

For this usage of ἐπιβαίνω (transitive) compare:—

η 223 ὥς κ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον ἐμῆς ἐπιβήσετε πάτρης.

Θ 285 τὸν καὶ τηλόθ' ἔοντα ἐνκλείης ἐπιβησον.

ψ 13 καί τε χαλιφρονέοντα σαοφροσύνης ἐπέβησαν.

B 234 ἀρχὸν ἔοντα κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

\*

ψ 93 ἡ δ' ἄνεω δὴν ἦστο, τάφος δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἴκανε·  
ὄψει δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν ἐνωπαδίως ἐσίδεσκεν,  
ἄλλοτε δ' ἀγνώσασκε κακὰ χροὶ εἴματ' ἔχοντα.

This account of the behaviour of Penelope, when she enters the hall to see whether she can recognise the slayer of the suitors as her husband, is marred by the corruption and consequent unintelligibility of l. 94. Nothing can be made of ἐνωπαδίως ἐσίδεσκεν. The MSS. give ἐνωπαδίως PHJ, ἐνωπιδίως FXDULWZ, ἐνωπιαδίως M. ἐσίδεσκεν MSS. Aristarchus ἐνιοι ἦισκεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου. So Ludwig, who adds from Voss Randgl. 70 'legendum videtur ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν εἶσκειν ἐνωπαδίως ἐσιδοῦσα. Eust. et schol. pro εἶσκειν legerunt ἐπέγνω [!] cf. ω 217.'

Of ἐσίδεσκεν it is enough to say that the form is here absolutely impossible, setting aside the meaning altogether for the moment. A Homeric hexameter can no more end with ἐσίδεσκεν than a Latin one with *invidebat*. We have therefore, if we confine ourselves to the tradition, only ἐφίδεσκεν and ἐφέφισκεν to choose between.

With regard to ἐνωπαδίως the suspicion of corruption is

overwhelmingly strong. The word is of course unique, and the only forms that throw light upon it are (1) *κατ' ἐνώπα* or *κατενώπα* in O 320:—

*αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐνώπα ἰδὼν Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων  
σεῖσ',*

where it evidently means “in the face of” whether we take the adverb or the adverbial phrase:—(2) *ἐνωπῇ* E 374 = φ 510 “openly.” It seems fairly clear, that *ἐνώπα* is the acc. of a noun *ἐνωπή*, just as we have *ἰῶκα* (Λ 601) from *ἰωκή*, *ἀλκί* from *ἀλκή*, *ὑσμῖνι* from *ὑσμίνη*.

That from this noun *ἐνωπή* an adverb *ἐνωπαδίως* should be formed, is not only contrary to all analogy [It should at least be *κατενωπαδίως*], but even if conceivable, would be a glaring example of linguistic wastefulness, as it could not differ in sense from either *κατ' ἐνώπα* or *ἐνωπῇ*, as explained above.

Let us now see how the passage is ordinarily rendered. Messrs Butcher and Lang, whose version cannot be bettered, have the following:—“But she sat long in silence, and amazement came upon her soul, and now she would look upon him steadfastly with her eyes, and now again she knew him not, for that he was clad in vile raiment.”

There is no true opposition here, such as is implied in *ἄλλοτε μέν—ἄλλοτε δέ*. If we accept ‘now she would look upon him steadfastly with her eyes,’ the natural continuation would certainly be, “now she would turn away her eyes,” cease to scrutinize him in fact. But if we take as our starting point the second clause, “and now again she knew him not,” it is equally certain that the only possible contrast is, ‘at one time she felt that she recognised her husband.’ Now it is useless to say that this is implied in ‘now she would look upon him steadfastly with her eyes.’ This is so far from being the case, that it is the very fact of her looking upon him steadfastly with her eyes that makes her fail to recognise him. The looking steadfastly upon him is the antecedent condition both of recognition and non-recognition. Neither the one nor the other would be possible without this earnest scrutiny; it belongs equally to both.

The condemnation then of ἐνωπαδίως ἐσίδεσκειν is justified both in form and substance. Is it possible to restore both without disturbing too much the tradition? At any rate I will make the attempt, for the reconstruction quoted above as suggested by J. H. Voss, seems quite unacceptable, as also is Kayser's ὄψει δὲ δὴ ἄλλοτε.

We have seen that ἦσκειν i.e. ἐφέρισκειν has some claim here, and may be considered eligible in place of ἐσίδεσκειν, provided any reasonably possible treatment can be found for the real difficulty, ἐνωπαδίως. Even of this the major part might be accepted, ἐνώπα:—

ὄψει δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν ἐνώπα—ἐφέρισκειν.

“As she gazed at one time she deemed him like in face—.” To whom? To her husband necessarily. Therefore let us promptly complete the line thus:—

ὄψει δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν ἐνώπ' Ὀδυσῇ ἐφέρισκειν.

This at any rate gives a perfectly satisfactory sense to the passage, and in the unwieldy tail of ἐνωπαδίως, I think, may be traced still some of the disjecta membra of the name of the long-suffering hero himself.

ΕΝΟΠΑΔΙΟΕΙΔΕΚΕΝ

ΕΝΟΠΑΟΔΥΓΕΙΕΙΕΙΚΕΝ

For the construction compare:—

E 181 Τυδείδῃ μιν ἐγὼ γε δαΐφρονι πάντα Φερίσκω.

ζ 151 Ἀρτέμιδί σε ἐγὼ γε, Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοι,  
εἰδὸς τε μέγεθός τε φυὴν τ' ἄγχιστα Φερίσκω.

The texts have εἶσκω, which however undeniably (I need not stay to prove this) represents Φερίσκω. Following the analogy of these passages, our line should appear thus:—

ὄψει δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν ἐνώπ' Ὀδυσῇ εἶσκειν—.

The acc. ἐνώπα corresponds to the πάντα of E 181, and to εἰδὸς τε μέγεθός τε φυὴν τ' in ζ 152. Its appropriateness to the present passage is marked. It is in the face only that Penelope can at any time detect a likeness; the general appearance (κακὰ χροὸν εἶματ' ἔχοντα), when she regards that, forbids the identification, which the features suggest.

In  $\theta$  160 (Journ. Phil. xxvi p 265) I make a withdrawal, not by any means of the emendation, οἶά τ' ἀέθλια πολλά, but of the concession to the vulgate, that a genitive may be understood. From the examples here adduced it is clear that the point or points of resemblance would be expressed properly enough by the acc., so there is no ellipse at all.

Probably enough, as van Leeuwen and da Costa suspect—they make no change in the text—the curiously contracted ἀγνώσασκε in l. 95 for ἀγνοήσασκε represents an earlier ἀγνοίεσκε, cf. A 537 ἡγνοίησε. The formation would be analogous to ὤθεσκε from ὠθέω and οἴχνεσκε from οἴχνέω.

\*

ψ 98 τίφθ' οὕτω πατρός νοσφίζεαι—;

This is supposed to mean, 'why turnest thou thus away from my father?', or more exactly, 'why keepest thou thus away from my father?', because there is no question of *turning* in the ordinary sense.

In reality, if the expression be a possible one, which may be doubted, it can only mean: 'Why art thou quitting thus my father's house?' (πατρός = πατρὸς δῶμα, cf. β 195 &c. &c.).

Now as Penelope was not quitting the house, but merely sitting still by the wall opposite to Odysseus, looking at him intently at least now and again, the correct rendering has of course no chance whatever. However, the true reading is in this case simple enough, and will be found to fit the circumstances exactly:—

τίφθ' οὕτω πατρὸς νόσφ' ἵζεαι—;

"Why dost thou keep on sitting there away from my father?"

Telemachus is impatient at the prolongation of her inspection. As for νοσφίζομαι taking the genitive, we may be quite sure that in Homer it could not. Here is the proof:—

τ 597, φ 77, 104 νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα.

δ 263 παῖδά τ' ἐμὴν νοσφισσαμένην θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε—.

τ 338 ὅτε πρῶτον Κρήτης ὄρεα νιφόεντα  
νοσφισάμην.

The acc. is readily understood in :—

B 81 ψεύδός κεν φαῖμεν καὶ νοσφίζοίμεθα μᾶλλον.

λ 424 ἡ δὲ κυνώπις.

νοσφίσαιτ', οὐδέ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Ἀῖδαο—.

This leaves but one other place in the Homeric poems, where the verb is found, and it matters little whether we understand an acc. or not :—λ 73 νοσφισθεῖς 'quitting the spot.' Compare Hym. Dem. 92, Hym. Herm. 562. Clearly the genitive in ψ 98 is utterly out of court.

We may accordingly without hesitation remove from the text this abnormal νοσφίζεαι. The inference from what we see here is that errors in connection with an obsolete word are of a different quality—more irrational in fact—, than the corruptions of words still in familiar vogue. If νοσφίζομαι had continued in use, the mere recurrence of ἴζεαι in the ἐξομένη of l. 99 would not have troubled the severest censor of tautology.

\*

ψ 233 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπᾶσιος γῇ νηχομένοισι φανήη,  
ὦν τε Ποσειδάων εὐεργέα νῆ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
ραΐσῃ ἐπειγομένην ἀνέμῳ καὶ κύματι πηγῶ·  
παῦροι δ' ἐξέφυγον πολίης ἁλὸς ἡπειρόνδε  
νηχόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ χροῖ τέτροφεν ἄλμῃ,  
ἀσπᾶσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης κακότητα φυγόντες·

That γῇ is not Homeric can, I think, hardly be doubted. The evidence is decisive. We have in the Iliad and Odyssey nearly a dozen precarious instances of γῇ against about three hundred of γαῖα. This result of the modernising tendency is not surprisingly large, and several of these instances may readily be restored to order. For ν 233 :—

τίς γῇ, τίς δῆμος ; τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν ;

we have only to turn to Hym. Apoll. 468 :—

τίς δῆμος, τίς γαῖα ; τίνες βροτοὶ ἐγγεγάασιν ;

In μ 27 ἡ ἁλὸς ἡ ἐπὶ γῆς, the position of the preposition is enough to warrant ἡ ἁλὸς ἡ γαίης.

Again in T 259 Γῆ τε καὶ Ἡέλιος the τε is quite needless; therefore read Γαῖα καὶ Ἡέλιος undeterred by Γ 105

Γῆ τε καὶ Ἡελίῳ, Διὶ δ' ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν ἄλλον,

which is almost certainly an interpolation intended to explain why one lamb is white and the other black, and for the rest gratuitously introduces a third victim, which is never heard of afterwards, but just serves to fill up this line.

Here however (in ψ 233) we have an instance not so easily removable, if we may judge by the attempts hitherto made, and yet it seems highly improbable that this simile should have γῆ in the first line and γαίης in the last.

Fick would read, not without considerable harshness:—

ὥς δ' ὅτε γαῖ' ἐφάνη ἀσπαστὸς νηχομένοισι.

Van Leeuwen and da Costa print:—

ὥς δ' ὅτε νηχομένοισ' ἀσπαστὸς γαῖα φανήη,

suggesting also:—

ὥς δ' ὅτε κ' ἀσπάσιος γαῖα ναύτησι φανήη.

This last idea has one merit; it recognises, as the other attempts do not, that the error may be in νηχομένοισι, which may be, and probably is, merely adopted from l. 237, νηχόμενοι, to facilitate the admission of γῆ.

The circumstances described in the simile are as follows. The ship is damaged by Poseidon: in plain words, by collision with a sunken rock or other mischance a plank is started, and the vessel becomes water-logged. It does not sink, any more than does Odysseus' boat, σχεδία, under similar conditions. It is driven along by the wind over the rough sea, ἐπειγομένην ἀνέμῳ καὶ κύματι πηγῶ. The sailors do not abandon the vessel at once and take to swimming; neither did Odysseus. They wait and endure the washing of the spray and the waves (πολλὴ δὲ περὶ χροὶ τέτροφεν ἄλμῃ), until they drift within sight of land. Then and then only they quit the half-submerged hulk and take to swimming to reach the land they are so glad to have descried. What were they doing while still on the water-

logged vessel? Let me submit in reply my proposed correction of l. 233:—

ὥς δ' ὅτε τ' ἀσπάσιος γαῖ' εὐχομένοισι φανήη.

This association of 'sinking ships and praying hands' is not a mere touch of imagination on the part of Tennyson (*Lotos-Eaters*). The picture was drawn long ago in full detail in the Homeric Hymn to the Great Twin Brethren, xxii ll. 7—12:—

ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄλλαι  
χειμέριαι κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν  
εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλοιο  
ἄρνεσσιν λευκοῖσιν, ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια βάντες  
πρύμνης· τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε μέγας καὶ κύμα θαλάσσης  
θῆκαν ὑποβρυχίην.

\*

ψ 314 ἦδ' ὥς Αἴολον ἴκεθ', ὃ μιν πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο  
καὶ πέμπ', οὐδέ πω αἶσα φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι  
ἦην, ἀλλὰ μιν αὖτις ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα  
πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρειν βαρέα στενάχοντα.

Ludwich gives the variants of the abnormal form ἦην in l. 316 as follows:—ἦην M; εἶην FZ post correcturam G<sup>2</sup>; αἶην K; εἶη Y; εἶα Vind. 5. Now although ἦην is in every way indefensible (*v.* Note on ω 336, p. 246), it is quite impossible to believe that Nauck's ἔπλετο is the word that ἦην has superseded. The reading of K αἶην suggests to me, not ἔην,—this has been the misfortune of the passage—but the possibility of a more forcible and rhythmical opening than the present spondaic one:—

αἶσ' ἔεν, or as it would become αἶσ' ἦν.

Now I may as well say here, and the remark has an important bearing on the problem before us, that supposing αἶσα and ἦν or ἐστί to occur in connection in Homeric verse, i.e. forming a predication, both words would certainly be in one and the same line. The separation of the two would be

linguistically a barbarism or rather an ineptitude of expression. We have the proper form of expression in  $\theta$  511 :—

*αἶσα γὰρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι,—*

Here in  $\psi$  315–6 we have the—ineptitude.

The substantive verb, as is also the case with *μοῖρα ἦν* or *ἐστί*, may in this phrase be omitted altogether, as from its unimportance it most frequently is, but it cannot be trajected, as here, into the next line. The reason is plain enough. Such a trajection would emphasise intolerably the very word which usage shows to be so little emphatic, that it can nearly always be left unexpressed, as in H 52, O 117,  $\Psi$  80,  $\delta$  475,  $\Pi$  434, P 421, and with *αἶσα*  $\Omega$  224,  $\epsilon$  113, 206,  $\nu$  306,  $\epsilon$  288,  $\xi$  359,  $\omicron$  276,  $\Pi$  707.

This being so, then of course *αἶσα* must be removed from l. 314, leaving the line imperfect. Let us see how it stands :—

*καὶ πέμπ', οὐδέ πω—φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι  
αἶσ' ἔεν.*

To solve the little difficulty here presented, let me draw attention to the following passages :—

B 419 *ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα πώ οἱ ἐπεκραίαινε Κρονίων (Γ 302).*

N 521 *οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι πέπυστο.*

P 501 *οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι.*

X 279 *ἥμβροτες, οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,*

T 205 *ὄψει δ' οὗτ' ἄρ πω σὺ ἐμούς ἴδες, οὗτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ σοῦς.*

*Leg. ἄρα—σύ γ'.*

We may now easily restore :—

*καὶ πέμπ', οὐδ' ἄρα πώ ἐ φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι  
αἶσ' ἦν, ἀλλά μιν αὖτις—.*

*ἄρα* = 'as the result showed,' 'as it appeared.'

\*

$\omega$  58 *ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἔστησαν κοῦραι ἀλίοιο γέροντος*

*οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμεναι, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσαν.*

It is quite in accordance with the customs of the heroic age that the sea-nymphs should perform the function known in Ireland as "Keening" at the funeral of Achilles; but I think

it will generally be admitted that the covering of the hero's body with divine raiment as a last tribute would be more fittingly attributed to the mother herself than to her attendants. In the case of Sarpedon by command of Zeus, Apollo himself (II 680) pays this honour to the dead,

περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἔσσειν.

Again, among the prerogatives of women in the heroic epoch hardly anything is more certain than that the lady of the house always kept in her own hands the charge of the store of clothes and linen.

Now if reference be made to the speech of Agamemnon (the *ψυχὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος*), in which our lines occur, they will be found to constitute a resumption of the main narrative, interrupted by a short passage (ll. 48–57) describing the effect on the Greek army of the mysterious noises from the sea, that were heard before the appearance of Thetis and the sea-nymphs.

I do not mean to imply that the digression is not as ancient and genuine as any part of the speech; but I wish to point out that the connection of the main narrative should be maintained in the epic manner as closely as if there had been no interruption at all. Accordingly the statement in l. 47 having been

μήτηρ δ' ἐξ ἀλὸς ἦλθε—,

apparently emphasised and recalled by its virtual repetition in Nestor's speech l. 55, we maintain the connection far better than at present, and gain other incidental advantages, by reading ll. 58–9 thus:—

ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἔστησεν κούρας ἀλίοιο γέροντος  
οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρομένας, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἔσσειν.

One of the obvious advantages possessed by the suggested restoration over the vulgate is the removal of the hiatus (illicitus) in the middle of the fourth foot; another is the exchange of the rare and doubtful *ἔστησαν* = *ἔσαν* (There are I believe only two other instances of the form in Homer, Δ 593 and κ 391) for the transitive and unexceptionable *ἔστησεν*, cf. Δ 298 *πεζοὺς δ' ἐξόπιθε στήσεν*. The later name *Στησί-*

χορος probably implies one who performs duties resembling the action of Thetis here. For the whole scene compare the description of Hector's funeral Ω 719—22. The Muses here correspond to the ἀοιδούς θρήνων ἐξαρχούς, and ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες expresses the part taken by the sea-nymphs.

\*

ω 313 χαῖρε δὲ κεῖνος ἰών· θυμὸς δ' ἔτι νῶιν ἐώλπει  
μίξεσθαι ξενίῃ ἥδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδώσειν.

It seems an extraordinary and well-nigh unaccountable circumstance that the unmetrical combination νῶιν ἐώλπει, i.e. νῶιν *FeFóλπει*, or with augment ἐ*FeFóλπει*, has not been set right by simply changing the dat. νῶιν into the acc. νῶι or νῶι thus:—

νῶι *FeFóλπει*  
νῶι ἐ*FeFóλπει*.

For νῶιν Eustathius gives ἥμιν. This, as I should judge, only indicates how easily a gloss, ἥμιν, may become a variant. But van Leeuwen and da Costa promptly seize the opportunity to get in another example of the favourite *hiat. licit.* and suggest ἥμ' ἐ*FeFóλπει*. The only other correction hitherto offered seems to be Nauck's ἔτι ἔλπετο νῶιν, which could only be accepted reluctantly, if the dative were quite indispensable.

There is however no overwhelming necessity for the dat. at all. The attribution of θυμός is simple enough, and the supersession of an original νῶι by νῶιν in the tradition is quite intelligible, as it removes an apparent, though really imaginary, hiatus. In Π 99 νῶιν appears for a nom. νῶι (*v.* The Classical Review, Vol. x. p. 329, where I have shown some reason to believe that νῶι δ' ἐκδύιμεν is the true reading). In Θ 428 νῶι ἐῶ (La Roche) i.e. νῶι ἐάω we have the warning and illuminating schol.:—οὕτως νῶι χωρὶς τοῦ ὦ Didymus. ὅτι τινες γρ. σὺν τῷ ὦ, κακῶς Aristonicus. In Θ 377 νῶι (acc.) we have νῶιν DH, νῶιν Zenodotus. Reference may also be made to Λ 767 and X 216, and lastly there is the well-vouched-for, but utterly impossible, σφῶιν (nom.) of ψ 52, v. p. 228.

We need hardly hesitate to remedy such inveterate confusion, following in this the example of Aristarchus himself.

It may be permissible and perhaps desirable to add a remark about the extraordinary form *διδώσκειν*, weakly supported by ν 358, which figures at the end of l. 314. I recommend absolute disbelief in this word here and elsewhere. Still I am not prepared to think with van Leeuwen and da Costa, that

*καὶ δωσέμεν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα*

was the original. I suggest that Odysseus was made by the poet to say with naive frankness,

*ἦδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα δέχεσθαι.*

Then in later times some courtly rhapsodist or critic wished to credit the hero with nobler altruistic sentiments. Unfortunately the Homeric man believed with all his soul that it was more blessed to receive than to give. The attempt to elevate his simple primitive ideas has, I suspect, produced *διδώσκειν* here.

\*

ω 328 *εἰ μὲν δὴ Ὀδυσσεύς γε ἐμὸς πάϊς ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις,  
σημά τί μοι νῦν εἰπὲ ἀριφραδές, ὅφρα πεποιίθω.*

χ 45 *εἰ μὲν δὴ Ὀδυσσεύς Ἰθακήσιος ἐλίλλουθας,—*

The two lines are spoken by Laertes, who naturally desires some evidence that the stranger is his son. The other, χ 45, resembles to some extent ω 328. Now Cobet has proposed to remove one hiatus by reading

*Ὀδυσσεὺς σύ γ' ἐμὸς—.*

Rightly, though the adherents of hiatus licitus will not accept the change, or their idol may suffer. Hence van L. and da C. carefully keep *σύ* out of their text. Cod. Pal. omits *γε*, and certainly without the pronoun, which requires emphasis, *γε* is as useless as in φ 98. It is plain that, taking the words as transmitted, it is not *Ὀδυσσεύς*, but *ἐμὸς πάϊς*, that should be emphasised. If Laertes had happened to have more sons than one, something might be said for *Ὀδυσσεύς γε*; as matters stand, it is simply indefensible, and *σύ γε* should be read.

It may be a pity that the unique passage, which shows this favourite hiatus in two consecutive lines, should be laid hands upon; but truth compels me to declare, that I have grave doubts, whether even

εἰπὲ ἀριφραδές

is genuine and correct. After an examination of all the passages in which σῆμα and ἀριφραδές occur,—I forbear to set them forth in detail—I have found reason to think that here Laertes did not ask Odysseus to “tell” him a “clear sign,” but to “show” him one.

σῆμά τι μοι νῦν δεῖξον ἀριφραδές, ὄφρα πεποίθω.

The particular σῆμα is of course the scar on the thigh.

Unfortunately in the two nearest instances of the use of the expression, σῆμα ἀριφραδές, the verb used is εἰπεῖν. They occur in the XXIIIrd book, ψ 73 and 273:—

ἀλλ' ἄγε τοι καὶ σῆμα ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι εἴπω.

σῆμα δέ μοι τόδ' εἶπεν ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε κεύσω.

This verb, which has exercised a disastrous influence over our passage, is used with perfect propriety in both cases. In ψ 73 Eurycleia speaks to Penelope of this same scar. She could only say εἴπω. In 273 Teiresias, as Odysseus recounts to his wife, *told* him a sign, that he would meet afterwards. I need not do more than mention ψ 225, where κατέλεξας is the verb.

But in an earlier book, where Odysseus also refers to his scar, the verb is what I suppose it was originally here:—

φ 217 εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ σῆμα ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι δείξω,

and here in answer to his father's request Odysseus with the briefest summary of the events does *show* the scar at once. He begins:—

331 οὐλὴν μὲν πρῶτον τήνδε φράσαι ὀφθαλμοῖσι.

It only remains to add in this connection, that, in spite of hiatus licitus theories, even φ 217 and ψ 73 have suffered injury and should be restored:—

ψ 73 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι καὶ εἴπω ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι σῆμα

φ 217 εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ δείξω ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι σῆμα.

The position of the verb is then the same in all the four lines φ 217, ψ 73, 273, ω 328, a very suggestive fact.

A further question arises in reference to ω 328 and χ 45. There is no doubt whatever, it is easy to show by many examples, that εἰ μὲν δὴ and εἰ δὴ, when followed by a present indicative, always imply that the statement is an admitted fact, true at the moment (δὴ) and undisputed. We may fairly render εἰ δὴ "since now."

α 82 εἰ μὲν δὴ νῦν τοῦτο φίλον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι,—  
 γ 376 εἰ δὴ τοι νέφω ὦδε θεοὶ πομπῆες ἔπονται.—  
 κ 386 ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ πρόφρασσα πιεῖν φαγέμεν τε κελεύεις.—  
 ν 238, ο 328, σ 80, φ 253.

A 61 εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾶ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιοῦς.  
 Here δαμᾶ is not future, as some commentators say, but present. It expresses a very unpleasant, but undeniably present, fact. Of course the form δαμᾶ, properly δαμάει, may be either one or the other; but to choose the future here is to rob the passage of all its instant and urgent force. In its archaic form, for ὁμοῦ the local adverb has probably been introduced to get rid of the original πτόλεμος, the line would begin thus:—

εἰ δὴ ἅμα πτόλεμος δαμάει.—

A 574 εἰ δὴ σφῶ ἔνεκα θνητῶν ἐριδαίνετον ὦδε,—  
 I 434 εἰ μὲν δὴ νόστον γε μετὰ φρεσί, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεύ,  
 βάλλεαι, οὐδέ τι πάμπαν ἀμύνειν νηυσὶ θοῇσιν  
 πῦρ ἐθέλεις αἰδηλον,—  
 K 242, 433, Λ 138, M 67 (δὴ MSS. τοὺς Arist.), N 111, Ξ 337,  
 O 53, Ω 140, 406, 660.

In our passage, ω 328, the statement of the conditional clause is by no means treated as an admitted unquestionable fact. The next line shows that the fact is not yet accepted as true,

σῆμά τί μοι νῦν εἰπὲ ἀριφραδές, ὄφρα πεποίθω.

Consequently, apart entirely from the hiatus in the second foot, not esteemed as *licitus* here, εἰ μὲν δὴ must be wrong. So much is certain. The argument against it is conclusive. The difficulty is to suggest a remedy equally certain. Metre and

meaning alike indicate that an emendation is necessary. I suggest as a reasonable probability

εἰ μὲν θην—.

The meaning, "truly," "of a verity," suits the clause exactly and I find this particle following μὲν as here in :—

ε 211 οὐ μὲν θην κείνης γε χερείων εὐχομαι εἶναι,—

Θ 448 οὐ μὲν θην κάμετόν γε μάχη ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ—

Cf. B 276, K 104, Ξ 480, Φ 568. In K 104 and Φ 568 there is slight authority for δῆ, but θήν is unquestionably right.

Again, that θήν and δῆ are distinct particles, and not mere varying forms of one word, is clear from :—

γ 352 οὐ θην δῆ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱὸς.—

Compare also I 393-4.

Lastly, θήν is used after a conjunction in :—

π 91 ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ θήν μοι καὶ ἀμείψασθαι θέμις ἐστίν,—

(δῆ superscript. H).

In the case of χ 45 the argument against δῆ is not so strong, for Eurymachus might be said to accept the statement as a fact: but clearly the two lines ω 328 and χ 45 must be dealt with alike.

\*

ω 336 εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι καὶ δένδρε' ἐκτιμένην κατ' ἀλωὴν  
εἵπω, ἃ μοί ποτ' ἔδωκας, ἐγὼ δ' ἤτεόν σε ἕκαστα  
παιδνὸς ἐών, κατὰ κῆπον ἐπισπόμενος· διὰ δ' αὐτῶν  
ἰκνεύμεσθα, σὺ δ' ὠνόμασας καὶ εἶπες ἕκαστα.  
ὄγχνας μοι δῶκας τρισκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα μηλέας,  
συκέας τεσσαράκοντ'· ὄρχους δέ μοι ὦδ' ὀνόμηνας  
δώσειν πεντήκοντα, διατρύγιος δὲ ἕκαστος  
ἦην· ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν,  
ὁππότε δῆ Διὸς ὄραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθευ.

'But come, and I will tell thee the trees through all the terraced garden, which thou gavest me once for mine own, and I was asking thee this and that, being but a little child, and following thee through the garden. Through these very trees we were going, and thou didst tell me the names of each of

them. Pear-trees thirteen thou gavest me, and ten apple-trees, and figs two score, and as we went thou didst name the fifty rows of vines thou wouldst give me, whereof each one ripened at divers times, with all manner of clusters on their boughs, when the seasons of Zeus wrought mightily from on high.'

Butcher and Lang (1879).

The above graceful version, though not altogether unexceptionable, as I may have occasion to show, gives sharply and clearly the picture delineated in this paragraph, as we have it in the tradition. The father, Laertes, takes the lad, Odysseus, through the orchard. The boy begs for every one of the trees (such is necessarily the meaning of *ἐγὼ δ' ἥτεόν σε ἕκαστα*. It does not mean:—'I kept asking miscellaneous childish questions,' as the above version rather suggests). His father in an outburst of parental kindness and generosity gives away to his importunate little son no less than 13 pear-trees, 10 apple-trees, 40 fig-trees and 50 rows of vines; in fact he presents him, we may safely say, with the whole orchard and vineyard.

Such useless and unnecessary free-handedness on the part of Laertes is very surprising, and when we come to examine the passage in detail, we shall find reason to doubt whether the original author of these lines, be he Homer or not, did as a matter of fact exhibit either the father as so foolishly generous, or the son as so wildly exacting.

The whole passage has, I fear, suffered from the anxiety of some rhapsodist, or—shall we say?—redactor, to make Laertes display a princely and becoming generosity. Originally, there is I think reason to believe, the narrative possessed far less unreality and a truer touch of that nature that makes the whole world kin, than it now exhibits.

The key to the passage in its primitive form is, I believe, to be found in line 339:—

σὺ δ' ὠνόμασας καὶ ξείπες ἕκαστα,

or, as it should certainly be written, and as the Cambridge Homer ought to have had it (cf. Journ. Phil. xxvi. p. 114):—

σὺ δ' ὠνόμασας Φεῖπές τε Φέκαστα.

"and you told me the name of every tree." He told the boy which were apple-trees, which pear-trees and which fig-trees, and the number of each kind. The boy, who is a boy and not a prattling baby ready to ask for the moon or any thing else that was handy, is being taught the valuable lesson, which half the world does not know now-a-days, how to distinguish one kind of tree from another, and probably also to count and remember the exact number of each sort in the orchard. The whole value of the incident as a *proof of identity* lies in these particulars. It makes no difference to the strength of the evidence whether the trees were given, or only inspected, named and counted. The poet doubtless saw this, though the would-be improver of the passage did not.

Apart however from this tell-tale line, 339, there is another place, which has proved intractable, and shows plainly that it has been tampered with. I refer to the expression in ll. 340-1,

ὀνόμηνas δώσειν.

Here Messrs Butcher and Lang's version is obviously not intended as an accurate rendering. Mr Monro, following Ebeling's Lex., says briefly, "ὀνόμηνas 'didst promise.' But this is merely a gratuitous concession to the actual requirements of this passage. Elsewhere *ὀνομαίνω* never means anything like 'I promise.' Neither can *ὀνόμηνas* here be reduced to the barer generality, "didst say": for evidently its meaning cannot be, or rather cannot have been, very far from that of *ὠνόμασας* in l. 339. The only admissible renderings of *ὀνόμηνas* are (1) *you named, told the names of*, and (2) *you enumerated, gave a list of*. Lastly—ὥδε means 'just as you did of the other trees.' Mr Monro's rendering of the adverb 'as I tell you' is, I fear, too forced, though it almost reaches the same point by another route. Neither can I accept Messrs B. and L.'s "*as we went*."

The unsuitable *δώσειν* must be attributed to the remodeller of the passage. That it has no right to stand here seems certain; but what originally stood in its place is by no means so certain. It may have been *δείξας*, or *δείξας* with *ὀνομήνας* (part.) preceding, or *εἶπες* as l. 339 suggests; but even *ἄλλους*

or *τρῆς καί* would be tolerable, and it is needless to speculate further on such a matter. The important point is that *δώσειν* here is impossible and corrupt.

Now I come to the line, which in my view of the passage has suffered most. It is, of course, 337:—

*εἴπω, ἃ μοί ποτ' ἔδωκας, ἐγὼ δ' ἤτεόν σε ἕκαστα—*,

where if I am right an original *ἔδειξας* (*ἔδεικσας*) has been replaced by *ἔδωκας*, not a very difficult exchange in itself, and made acceptable from the motive already mentioned.

Its acceptance, however, has involved the modernisation and modification of *ἐρόμην*, an unfamiliar form (cf. *ἤρετο ἐρέσθαι*)—"I asked you about every one," into *ἤτεον*—"I begged for, I asked for." In *ι* 354:—

*ἥδὺ ποτὸν πίνων, καί μ' ἤτεε δεύτερον αὖτις,*

where *ἤτεε* is natural and right enough, we have a var. lect. *εἶρετο* (Ebel. Lex. sub verb.).

The whole passage would stand thus:—

*εἰ' ἄγε τοι καὶ δένδρε' ἐυκτιμένην κατ' ἀλφὴν  
εἴπω, ἃ μοί ποτ' ἔδειξας, ἐγὼ δ' ἐρόμην σε ἕκαστα  
παιδινὸς ἐών, κατὰ κῆπον ἐπισπόμενος· διὰ δέ σφεν  
ἰκνεόμεσθα, σὺ δ' ὠνόμασας εἰπὲς τε ἕκαστα.  
ὄγχνας μοι δέϊξας τρισκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα μηλέας,  
συκέας τεσσαράκοντ'· ὄρχους δέ μοι ὧδ' ὀνομήνας  
δεῖξας πεντήκοντα, διατρύγιος δὲ ἕκαστος,  
[ἤην· ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν,]  
ὁππότε δὴ Διδὸς ὦραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθεν.*

"Come now and I will tell you the trees in the well-laid garden, the trees you once showed me, and I being but a lad asked you about every one, as I went with you over the orchard. As we were going through the midst of them, you told me the names of each and all. You showed me thirteen pear-trees, ten apple-trees and forty fig-trees. And just in the same way you showed me and counted up fifty rows of vines. Each one ripened at its own due time, when the seasons of Zeus forced them forward from on high."

It will be observed that I have excluded l. 343 altogether:

but this severity is really essential, whatever view be taken of the passage. Its inclusion entirely destroys the proper dependence of l. 344. Messrs B. and L.'s version slurs over the difficulty. But after all the line is only a somewhat flagrant example of one of the commonest types of interpolation in Homer. The case is this:—*διατρύγιος δὲ ἕκαστος* as a complete predication involves of course the ellipse of *ἦν* or *ἔεν*, an ellipse for which Homeric usage gives full warrant. The interpolator of l. 343 thought the verb should be expressed, and so began his line magnificently with

*ἦν,*

rather a bloated form it is true, and happily as rare as it is imposing in every sense of the word (v. Monro H. G. § 12, also his note on  $\psi$  316). He then lamely filled up the verse with a clause containing a verb in present time *ἔασι*, so again facilitating, by an antiquarianism this time successful, the detection of his well-meant, but nefarious, work. Perhaps it will be sufficient to refer to similar cases in I 43, O 360,  $\Sigma$  367,  $\Phi$  570 and the remarks in Journ. Phil. xxvi. p. 133.

Finally, I may just mention two other changes I have made in the vulgate, *εἰ' ἄγε* (*eja age*), v. Monro H. G. § 320, and *διάσφρων* for *δι' αὐτῶν*. The ingenious emphasis on the pronoun shown in Messrs B. and L.'s version is not here tenable. Of course *δι' αὐτῶν* would be the natural modernisation of *διάσφρων*, cf.  $\omega$  381; but I must refrain for the present from entering upon a full discussion of this rather interesting question. It would have to be too lengthy for toleration, and must tarry for a more favourable opportunity.

\*

$\omega$  377 *οἶος Νήρικον εἶλον, ἐνκτίμενον ποτλίεθρον,  
ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο, Κεφαλλήνεσσι ἀνάσσων.*

Laertes, in command of the Cephallenians, claims to have captured or taken by storm Nericus, a city situated, if the authorities we have may be trusted on any question of Homeric geography, at the northern extremity or north-eastern side of the island of Leucadia, now Santa Maura. Some, according to

Eustathius, identify Nericus with the island itself: but this is inconsistent with the words of l. 377 *ἐνκτίμενον πτολίεθρον*, 'a stronghold.'

Now we come to the difficulty. This Nericus, this stronghold, is called *ἄκτῆν ἡπείροιο*, 'the shore of the mainland.' Now, to call a city, wherever situated it may be, the shore of the mainland, is rather meaningless and more than justifies the comment in Ameis-Hentze 'eine ungenaue Apposition zu Νήρικον,' 'an inexact apposition to Νήρικον'; but to go further and so describe a city situated *on an island* is much worse, and cannot, I submit, be palliated by the words, 'an welchem sich die Stadt hinerstreckte.'

Neither a city nor an island—it is only fair to say that Ameis-Hentze adopt the latter view, in fact they go further and make it a peninsula, with Eustathius's unnamed geographer—can be called 'the shore of the mainland,' because it faces the shore of the mainland, in this instance the shore of Acarnania. The peninsula-theory is too obviously a concoction to suit this passage, to be worth attention.

The truth is *ἄκτῆν ἡπείροιο* is irreconcilable to common sense and is, unless I greatly mistake, merely the corruption of a less familiar word. I suggest as the original reading the simple and satisfactory

*ἄντην ἡπείροιο*,

'facing the mainland.' This is exactly the situation occupied by the town Leucas, now Amaxikhi, nearly at the north end of the strait, that separates the island from the mainland.

The change of *ἄντην* to *ἄκτῆν* is very easy, and may be due largely to the fact that there is no example of *ἄντην* with a dependent genitive in the Homeric poems. The ancient grammarians seem indeed to have required at least two instances of an unfamiliar usage in Homer to give it countenance, e.g. *ω* 337. If this requirement were fulfilled, they readily, as I have more than once observed, allowed almost any licence.

There is after all little reason to doubt the grammatical correctness of *ἄντην ἡπείροιο*, v. Mouro H. G. § 228. It is merely a matter of metrical convenience: *ἄντα* usually serves best.

The form *ἄντην* is fairly analogous to *πέρην* in B 626,

*νήσων αἰὲν ναίουσι πέρην ἁλός, Ἥλιδος ἄντα,*

a verse which might have ended with *ἄντην*, had there been any tendency to require a strict spondee in the sixth place.

If we consider Θ 399

*βάσκ' ἴθι, Ἴρι ταχεῖα, πάλιν τρέπε, μήδ' ἔα ἄντην  
ἔρχεσθ'*

we may be fairly sure that *ἄντην ἐμείο*, 'facing me,' could have been said as well as *πάλιν ἐμείο*, 'away from me,' for which there is good warrant, Φ 439, η 145.

\*

ω 389 *μήτηρ, γρηῦς Σικελή, ἥ σφεας τρέφε καὶ ῥα γέροντα  
ἐνδυκέως κομέεσκεν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γῆρας ἔμαρψεν.*

The dame in question is the wife of Dolios, who is referred to two lines before as *γέρων* and *γέροντος*. Consequently editors almost unanimously refer *γέροντα* (389) to Dolios also.

Mr Monro, however, in his edition of the *Odyssey* xiii.—xxiv. (1891), says that *γέροντα* is apparently Laertes. For "the poet seems to be repeating here his description of the *γρηῦς Σικελή* given in 211–2." The lines referred to are these:—

*ἐν δὲ γυνή Σικελή γρηῦς πέλεν, ἥ ῥα γέροντα  
ἐνδυκέως κομέεσκεν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλῃος.*

How is this question to be determined? On the one hand it is extremely harsh to have to understand *γέροντα* of any other old man than the one just doubly-mentioned, i.e. Dolios.

On the other hand, why should it have occurred to the poet to make the wife of Dolios a *γρηῦς Σικελή*, unless with the deliberate intention to identify her with the *Σικελή γρηῦς*, who took charge of Laertes?

Furthermore, why in the world is the word *γρηῦς* of l. 211 represented or misrepresented by *γρηῦς* in l. 389? Was it necessary for the dissyllable to become a monosyllable? I fear it was. Let us examine this matter a little further. It will be found that the dissyllabic nom. *γρηῦς* occurs in twelve other places in Homer, σ 185, τ 503, χ 433, β 377, η 5, τ 353, 361,

386, 467, χ 495, ψ 1, 292, the monosyllabic form only once again in τ 346, of which more anon.

The hand of the interpolator is thus becoming visible. There is always some defect or modernisation in his work. So far however we have only suspicion. Let us go on and suppose, for the sake of our argument, that we have an interpolation here, that something has been removed to make room for γρηῦς Σικελή. Can we determine definitely and with any certainty what has been sacrificed? Does μήτηρ—ἥ σφεας τρέφε give any hint, suggest any omission? Why undoubtedly it does! Let Homer speak for himself. With him the μήτηρ, the mother, is emphatically ἥ μ' ἔτεχ', ἥ μ' ἔτρεφε (β 131). Compare the following:—

μ 134 τὰς μὲν ἄρα θρέψασα τεκοῦσά τε πότνια μήτηρ.

A 414 and B 548 have these verbs in intimate association; but let us come at once to the very archetype of what has been tampered with here:—

ψ 325 μητέρα θ' ἥ μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἑόντα—  
and, although it is said of the other parent:—

X 421 Πηλεὺς, ὅς μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε πῆμα γενέσθαι,  
we can now reproduce our line with some confidence, I might almost say, with certainty, in its original form:—

μήτηρ, ἥ σφεας τίκτε καὶ ἔτρεφε, καὶ ῥα γέροντα—.

Not only so, but we see at once that καὶ ῥα γέροντα ἐνδυκέως κομέεσκεν naturally led some one to recall to mind the ἥ ῥα γέροντα ἐνδυκέως κομέεσκεν of the earlier passage, and to raise the question whether the wife of Dolios was the Σικελή γρηῦς there mentioned. Probably this question is rashly answered in the affirmative, and the identification noted at first on the margin is afterwards confirmed by actually squeezing the two words, though γρηῦς suffers in the process, into the line.

This account of the origin of the vulgate explains, I submit, every difficulty. While it justifies Mr Monro's version of the vulgate, it shows that originally the reference of γέροντα was of course to Dolios and Dolios alone. So much for ω 389.

I now turn to τ 346, the other passage, which still supports what I have called the modernised form γρηῦς for the Homeric γρηῦς:—

τ 346 εἰ μὴ τις γρηῦς ἐστί παλαιή, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα, —.

I might almost rest satisfied with pointing out that Aristarchus disallowed this and the two following lines; but although there is weight in the objection, for Odysseus certainly showed little of his usual prudent judgement in suggesting that he should have the services of one who was almost certain to recognise him by the scar, yet I believe even in this line γρηῦς is more modern than the context, that in fact the poet or his interpolator, which you will, really wrote not the tautology of γρηῦς παλαιή, but the natural expression, which is indeed synonymous with γρηῦς, viz. παλαιή γυνή:—

εἰ μὴ τις γυνή ἐστί παλαιή, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα—.

I can hardly quit this subject of γρηῦς versus γρηῦς without referring to the two passages in which the vocative, γρηῦ, is found as a monosyllable. The extraordinary idea that γρηῦ can be a pyrrhic ∪ ∪ as well as a trochee – ∪, I take leave to reject as groundless. We have:—

τ 383 ὦ γρηῦ, οὔτω φασίν, ὅσοι ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν—

χ 411 ἐν θυμῷ, γρηῦ, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυξε.

Premising that the true archaic dissyllabic voc. γρηῦ occurs in three places, χ 395, 481, Hym. Dem. 113, I suggest for χ 411

θυμῷ, γρηῖς, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυξε.

For the omission of ἐν compare H 189 γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ, A 256 κεχαροίατο θυμῷ, θ 483 χαῖρε δὲ θυμῷ = ξ 113 and ω 545, υ 301 μείδησε δὲ θυμῷ &c. In fact we may say that as a general rule θυμῷ is used with verbs of this kind without a preposition. Still if any one chooses to insist on maintaining the prep. here, it is easy to read:—

χαῖρ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ, γρηῦ, καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυξε.

The nom. for voc. is of course quite legitimate.

Similarly in τ 383 we may simply remove the needless ὦ, and transpose, with better emphasis resulting:—

οὔτω, γρηῦς, φασὶν ὅσοι ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,

or, if we may not sacrifice even the expletive:—

οὔτω φασ', ὦ γρηῦς, ὅσοι ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,

which the devotees of hiatus licitus may easily alter to suit their peculiar fancy.

Finally, passing from the question of the possibility of the satisfactory removal of this modernisation γρηῦς, γρηῦ from the pages of Homer—they do seem to totter a little—I think the following rehabilitation of the misunderstood tradition in Hym. Dem. 101 may be left without much advocacy. The accepted reading is:—

γρηῖ παλαιγενεῖ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥ τε τόκοιο—.

But this is not the traditional reading. Our sole authority, the Moscow MS., has παλαιγενέη ἐναλίγκιος. Rubnken conjectured rightly enough, as far as it goes, παλαιγενεῖ, and so it stands in all editions, παλαιγενεῖ ἐναλίγκιος, bearing false evidence as to the production of -ι of the dat. sing., even before an open vowel.

The true acceptance of the tradition on the contrary tells in favour of the regular elision of this -ι. What the MS. gives is beyond all doubt:—

γρηῖ παλαιγενέ' ἦεν ἀλίγκιος—.

It is merely a question of dividing the letters rightly. There is no unexplained debasement of ι into η. All that is wanting is an apostrophe. Furthermore, as a reference to the context will show, we can now allow l. 100 to end with a full stop, since the adjective, ἀλίγκιος, has no longer to stretch backward to l. 98 for its grammatical construction.

\*

ω 532 ὥς κεν ἀναιμωτί γε διακριθῇτε τάχιστα.

If the form διακριθῇτε be genuine here, it certainly would slightly help the argument against the attribution of this book to the author of the Odyssey.

On the other hand, if there be a reasonable possibility that the form has been modernised, no reliance could be placed upon it for the purpose of this argument, as it would merely

show the readiness of the Greeks to eliminate the obsolete in favour of the present usage, wherever the change could be effected without apparent damage to their great poetic heirloom.

Under limit of this condition a modernisation was always without hesitation accepted by them, just as we ourselves freely accept and, save for purposes of antiquarian research and study, readily welcome, or I might say, insist on having, a modernisation of spelling in our texts of Elizabethan authors.

The archaic form of διακρινθῆτε is of course διακρινθήετε. It may of course be a mere accident that ὡς κεν is not elsewhere followed by τάχιστα, but by θᾶσσον in Z 143 = T 429 (B 440, M 26 ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον); but it seems to justify to some extent the conjecture here of

διακρινθήετε θᾶσσον.

We may feel fairly confident that the ingenious modernisers who boldly converted Ω 53 from

μή F' ἀγαθῶ περ εἰόντι νεμεσσηθήομεν ἡμεῖς

into

μή ἀγαθῶ περ εἰόντι νεμεσσηθώμεν οἱ ἡμεῖς

(so indeed the editions; but the MSS. unanimously νεμεσσηθώμεν), would not hesitate to change θᾶσσον into τάχιστα to accommodate διακρινθῆτε.

They have however, according to the evidence available, shown less consistent wrong-doing in the strictly parallel case not fifty lines away from our passage, viz. :—

ω 485 ἔκκλησιν θέωμεν· τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλους φιλεόντων—.

Such is the reading in Ludwich (1891), Monro (1891), and in all the best editions. The majority of the MSS. stand for θέομεν FPHULWZ: θέωμεν M. Eust. The wonder is that θῶμεν is not supported at all. Perhaps it is. The true reading of the line is without doubt :—

θήομεν ἔκκλησιν· τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλους φιλεόντων.

T. L. AGAR.

## METRICAL STOPGAPS IN STATIUS' THEBAID.

The havoc wrought in classical texts by what Mr Housman has christened 'Metrical Stopgaps' is nowhere better illustrated than in the *Thebaid*. Mr Housman cites one very radiant example from that poem (xii. 72) of this species of textual corruption: but as there are many which neither he nor any other commentator has ever noticed, it may be worth while to call attention to some of these.

There exist, as is known, two widely discrepant recensions of the *Thebaid*. Many of the discrepancies of these two recensions are not due to textual corruption at all, but many of them are. With regard to those that are so I would formulate a kind of canon of palaeography, by constant reference to which it is possible to correct the text in an almost mechanical way: 'Where the MSS. offer a diversity of readings, all of which give apparently an equal sense, that reading is to be preferred of which the initial or final letters resemble the letters of the word, or words, following or preceding.' This formula may, of course, be extended in application beyond the MSS. of the *Thebaid*, but I am here concerned to vindicate, by the aid of it, the true reading in one or two passages of the *Thebaid* where it seems to me to have been overlooked. But I may be allowed to notice first one or two places where the true reading is recognised by editors, but where the inferior reading is undoubtedly 'a metrical stopgap.'

iii. 399.      nunc ille tepentibus herbis P  
                  nunc ille potentibus herbis ω.

One MS. supplies the transition to the corruption *potentibus*. B reads *pentibus*. The similarity of the last letters of *ille* to the first letters of *tepentibus* caused *pentibus*, and the correction

*potentibus* is thus a 'metrical stopgap,' perhaps due to *potentibus herbis*, Lucan ix. 893. The restoration of the true reading (P) can thus be effected mechanically.

In this example the metrical stopgap is only a syllable. But in

v. 152.                      uiridi luco lucus P  
                                    uiridi late lucus  $\omega$

we have a whole word conjecturally inserted as a stopgap.

Similarly :

vii. 566.                  Erythraeis sed P  
                                    Erythrais quas  $\omega$ .

Here one might hesitate between *quas* and *sed*. But the archetype undoubtedly had *Erythraeis*  $\bar{s}$  : and the  $\bar{s}$  = *sed* became lost owing to the final letter of *Erythraeis* : *quas* filled the gap intelligibly.

Again :

viii. 667.                totidem heia P  
                                    totidem totidemque  $\omega$  :

Kohlman rightly wrote *totidem totidem heia*.

ix. 604.                      armigeræ ruit P  
                                    armatæ ruit  $\omega$ .

The exemplar of  $\omega$  offered *armigeruit*, which a corrector  
at  
developed into *armigeruit*.

ix. 662.                      nec te de dubiis P  
                                    nec te nunc dubiis  $\omega$ .

*Nec te dubiis* the exemplar of  $\omega$ , doubtless.

ix. 683.    ille acies inter coeptas iam caede superbum P  
                    ille acies inter medias iam caede superbum  $\omega$ .

Here *medias* is not so easily explained. *coepta* *corr.* Kohlmann: I imagine that *coepta* (*cepta*) lost its initial letters owing to the final letters of *inter* and its two last letters owing to the first letters of *iam*. If this is so, not only need we not hesitate

to reject *medius* but we must accept Kohlmann's conjecture *coepta* (as Mr Wilkins does *not*, I notice).

- ix. 725.            tantum moriture P  
                      tantum periture ω.

Without the mechanical aid of such a 'canon' as I have formulated an editor would here be in the position of Mr Housman's donkey between two bundles of equally palatable hay: and on Mr Housman's principles he would still be a donkey if he read *moriture* merely because it is offered by P. But clearly in the exemplar of ω the initial letter of *moriture* had become merged in the final letter of *tantum*, *oriture* being corrected to *periture metri gratia*.

- x. 362.            idem animus misero P  
                      idem ardor misero ω.

Here the more picturesque *ardor* offers a temptation until we reflect that *-em* is not unlike *ani-* and *-mus* very like indeed to *mis-*, and that consequently the exemplar of ω offered *idem misero*.

- x. 456.            notant tunc P  
                      notant nouus ω.

It might be said that *tunc* is just the kind of word which might be inserted to fill the metrical void. But on the other hand *tunc* is palaeographically equivalent to the last four letters of *notant*: and that being so, we cannot doubt that the stopgap is *nouus*.

- x. 523.            mirantur iter P  
                      mirantur agi ω.

*iter* dropped out, of course, in the exemplar of ω after *-ntur*.

- xii. 94.            uocent si funera P.  
                      uocent nunc funera ω.

No comment is needed. Nor in

- xii. 101.           ope et flammis P  
                      ope aut flammis ω.

At xii. 346 there is a difficulty:

[regibus] longumque P  
regibus aeternumque ω.

Kohlmann prints the reading of P because (1) it is the reading of P; (2) he was not taught Latin verse at school and thinks prosody pedantry. Nevertheless the reading of P is nearer the true reading than that of ω. For the true reading I am indebted to Mr S. G. Owen, who, among other emendations which he was kind enough to communicate to me, suggested *regibus in longumque*. *In* dropped out before *l*- and *aeternumque* is a stopgap due to a scribe whose knowledge of quantity was greater than that of Kohlmann.

In all these examples the true reading, as editors have mostly perceived, is that of P. I wish now to notice two places where editors have received into the text readings of P which are false and are obvious metrical stopgaps, and would never have been accepted except for the authority of P.

vii. 258.           innuptae uetus ω  
                      innuptae procul P.

Not only Kohlmann, but also Mr Wilkins, prints *procul*. But we can hardly doubt but that *uetus* dropped out in the exemplar of P owing to *nepos uetus* in 257 and that *procul* came in to fill a gap. If we had in our MSS. neither the *uetus* of ω nor the *procul* of P, but simply *innuptae* followed by a gap, the editor who conjectured *uetus* would undoubtedly be followed by all subsequent editors, and *procul* would be stigmatised as having 'no palaeographical probability.'

viii. 129.       fusos nulli nullique fugatus ω  
                      fusos media nullique fugatus P.

Here the 'stopgap' origin of P's *media* is so obvious that one is surprised that even Kohlmann should accept it: but when one sees Mr Wilkins, who is not, like Kohlmann, a slave to P, doing likewise, surprise passes into amazement. Moreover *media* enfeebles rather than strengthens the words with which it goes (*luce palam*); added to which the context becomes, to my mind, nonsense.

All these metrical stopgaps, whether belonging to P or  $\omega$ , would have passed undetected if we did not possess two distinct families of MSS. Can we doubt that there exist still undetected in the text similar stopgaps common to both classes of MSS.? At v. 646 P offers *exciderant adytis accepta profundis*. From  $\omega$  we get various attempts to fill the gap, e.g. *exciderant uoxque ex adytis*, *exciderant et uox*. This variety clearly points to the fact that the original of the  $\omega$  group contained the same lacuna as P: *et uox* or *uoxque ex* are mere conjecture. All we are really given is *exciderant, adytis accepta profundis*. The missing letters or words, if they are to be inserted between *exciderant* and *adytis*, may be expected to show some likeness to the last letters of *exciderant* or the initial letters of *adytis*. I would suggest that Statius wrote *exciderant, Cirrhæ* (= *cire*) *ante adytis accepta profundis*—the similarity of *cireant* and *-ciderant* being sufficiently close to account for the lacuna.

At i. 460 I believe we have a passage where the difficulty in the text is due to the fact that no scribe and no editor has supplied a very obvious lost word: the word has not been supplied merely because the metre did not, though the sense does, demand it. The difficulty is a well-known one, and many elaborate emendations of it have been offered. My own correction has the merit, at any rate, of great simplicity. I transcribe here ll. 457—460 as I believe they should be written:

pariter stabulare bimembres

Centauros unaque ferunt Cyclopas in Aetna

Compositos (sunt et rabidis iura insita monstros)

Fasque suum, *ut* nobis) sociare cubilia terrae.

This is exactly the text of the MSS., except that I have changed the punctuation and in 460 have inserted *ut* after *suum*. The change in the punctuation is much the same as that suggested by Mr Housman: I had, however, made my correction before I saw his suggestion.

vi. 181 is a line where the metrical stopgap has wrought great havoc. The condition of the text at this point is peculiar, and the whole passage 177—185 is generally regarded as spurious. But there is much to be urged in favour of its

genuineness. Firstly, it is preserved by P, a MS. which has not preserved any other of the many *versus scholastici* by which the text of the *Thebaid* has been confused. Secondly, the passage is given by P and  $\omega$  in versions utterly dissimilar, that of P being obviously deeply corrupted. (That of  $\omega$  is even more deeply corrupted but not so obviously.) This complete discrepancy between the two families should argue a high antiquity of the disputed verses. Thirdly, Mueller's objection that the lines are inconsistent with ll. 175, 176 is empty. There *is* inconsistency: but it is dramatic inconsistency. The inconsistency lies in the fact that Eurydice is intentionally presented as inconsistent. The verses contradict one another because Eurydice is made, for dramatic purposes, to contradict herself.

If the verses are genuine, the key to their restoration is most likely to be furnished to us by P. I transcribe 180—183 as given in P:—

Hoc saltem, o procures, tuque o cui pignora nostri  
 Proturbata tori prohibete supremis  
 Inuitam exsequiis, quia se fecisse parenti  
 Miscet in nostris spectatur et ipsa ruinis.

In 181 it is clear that something has become lost. I believe that after *tori* the word *Archemori* has fallen out. The whole passage I would then restore as follows:—

Hoc saltem, o procures, tuque o cui pignora nostri  
 Proturbata tori, *Archemori* prohibete supremis:  
 Inuisam exsequias quia se fecisse paranti  
 Nesciat, in nostris spectatur et ipsa ruinis?

‘From this at least, chieftains,—and thou who seest now broken the pledges of our love—protect the funeral fires of Archemorus. Is it because she does not know that she has made herself hateful to me who am now preparing his burial, that she lets herself be seen in very presence amid our desolation?’

The correction *inuisam* in 182 is due to  $\omega$ , and is all of any value that is to be got from  $\omega$ , which has emended the text to this effect:—

Hoc saltem o proceres tuque o cui pignore nostro  
 Partus honos, prohibete nefas, auferte supremis  
 Inuisam exsequiis. Quid se funesta parenti  
 Miscet et in nostris spectatur et ipsa ruinis.

When editors, altogether neglecting the readings of P, print nonsense like this, it is no wonder that they 'suspect' the whole passage. The lines that follow (184—185) are not found in P, and I am not prepared to defend them. I would prefer to eject them and put in their place the line which in P follows 176:

Sic ait, abruptisque immutuit ore querelis.

I take this opportunity of adding a few emendations which have no connection with metrical stopgaps. I give the notation of lines as according to Kohlmann.

ii. 184—186. Read:—

Non fugeret diras lux intercisa Mycenae,  
 Saeua nec Elcae gemerent certamina ualles,  
 (Eumenidesque aliis aliae sub regibus) et quae  
 Tu potior, Thebane, queri.

I have changed here only the punctuation. It is true that the last six words remain without a *logical* construction: we have to supply a *non essent* out of the *non fugeret* and *nec gemerent* of 184—185: just as we might loosely render in English: 'there would be no eclipse of Mycenae, no chariot races of Oenomaus—every prince has his Eumenis—and all the fearful deeds that belong to your story, Theban.'

ii. 267. Read:—

longa est series, si uota malorum  
 Persequar unde nouis tam saeua potentia donis.

267. si *Magdalen* (*Oron.*) MS. sed *cett.* et *Baehrens.* Si is clearly right: cf. i. 7, longa retro series, trepidum si Martis operti [agricolam expediam 8, 9]. Accepting *si* I have changed the *nota* of MSS. to *uota*. Translate, 'Long were the tale were I to tell of those curses of wicked persons which gave this cruel power to the gift while still new.'

ii. 638. Read:—

ille oculos tenui iam in luce natantes  
sistit.

This correction I derived from Sil. It. ii. 122, paruaque oculos iam [iam in *Livin.*] luce natantes, *etiamnum* in codd. I formerly (*Class. Rev.* xviii. 6), accepting for *luce* the *nube* of Codex P. Vlamingii, conjectured *leti iam in nube*. But I think Statius is undoubtedly imitating the line in Silius, and the substitution of *tenui* for *parua* is characteristic of the manner in which he likes to 'develop' what he borrows.

iv. 169—171. Read:—

pars anguibus aspera uiuis  
argento caelata micat: pars altera reptans  
conditur et fuluo moriens nigrescit in auro.

170. arte reperta *codd.* = arte[re] rept[ans].

v. 20—22. Read:—

At tamen o quaecunque es, ait, cui (gratia tanta est)  
uenimus innumerae fato debere cohortes  
quem non ipse deum pater aspernetur honorem.

21. Gloria (gŕa B) *codd.*: gratia = grā *scripsi*: 22. fatum *codd.* *fato* goes, of course, with *uenimus*.

v. 690—692. Read:—

atque illic alio certamine belli  
tectata fremunt (uolucres equitum praeuerterat alas  
fama recens) geminos aulis amplexa tumultus.

692. *alis codd.* The parenthesis is also due to me.

vi. 640. Read:—

raptaque non fracto vestigia puluere pendent.  
raraque *codd.* *rasaque Heins.*

vi. 819—821;

non has ego puluere crasso  
atque cruore genas meruit quibus ista iuuenta  
semitur, infodiam.

So P: iste fauorem ω, which all editors print, not understanding P. Retaining the reading of P, I construe non has

(eius) genas pulvere et cruore, quibus (*i.e. quibus pulvere atque cruore*) ista semiuir iuuenta [infodi] meruit, infodiam.

vii. 88, 89.                      nondum arma carinis  
                                         omnia.

So  $\omega$ , arma quiescunt (88) P, and all editors, but wrongly. Compare x. 185—186, stupet ipsa ratis tardeque sequuntur arma. *Quiescunt* is the most obvious and hideous of interpolations, which the scribe probably imported from l. 549. It gives a sense exactly opposite to that required. The sense is not 'the gear is not yet quiet,' but 'they do not yet venture to set sail.' *quiescunt* is due to the inability of the scribe to supply the main verb *sunt* from his imagination.

vii. 175—176. Read:—

quin etiam inuisos (sic hostis defuit) Argos  
eligis.

176. *elisis*, *codd.* and all editors, none of whom seem to have troubled themselves either to read the note of Lactantius, 'melius iratus alios hostes eligeres' (cf. *Jahnke*), or to recall *Theb.* i. 259 'cur hostes eligis Argos.'

viii. 40—41. Read:—

nec iste meus, diris quin peruius astris  
inspicitur.

40. dirisque in P, dirisque en  $\omega$ .

viii. 463—464. Read:—

et cum una receptas  
confundit iam uallis aquas, sibi quisque superbus  
ire cupit.

viii. 614—615.                      \*

nutat utroque timor, quemnam hoc certamine uictum  
quem uicisse uelint: tacite praeponderat exsul.

So  $\omega$ , mutat P *edd.* But is not *nutat* (of the swaying of the scale) vindicated by *praeponderat*?

ix. 696—697. Read:—

uaginaeque bonum tremulaeque audire pharetrae  
murmur.

696. *Sonum tremulumque codd.* That a verb is wanted in this line has always been apparent: this is supplied by *bonum* = *bonum est*. *tremulaeque* is the reading of all the old editions, and though Kohlmann does not cite it from any MSS., it must have come into the old editions from some MS. of the class known as M.

ix. 766. Read:—

figitur ile Lamus.

ilia P, ora ω.

x. 26. Read:—

Mors subitam integri stupet auguris umbram.

*nigri codd.* which Lactantius explains absurdly of the dust of battle. In Prop. iii. 5. 24, *integras* is confused in the MSS. with *et nigras*. *integri* will, of course, refer to the fact that Amphiarus has passed to Hades without undergoing the transformation of death, unwounded and with all his accoutrements, chariot, etc.

xi. 592. Read:—

solisque exspectent saecula ripis.

. Totisque *codd.*, tostisque *Heins.* In ix. 57 there is the same confusion of *totus* and *solus*. So too Prop. 4. 8. 48.

*Ach.* i. 676. Read:—

innumerae mutabant Cyclados oras.

Cyclades auras *codd.*, innumeras...Cyclades auras *Koestlin*: a correction which can be translated, but does not give the sense required. 'The Greeks sailed from one island to another' is the sense demanded, and 'the breeze passed from island to island' does not convey this.

I may add here, with regard to the Achilleid, that the collation of the Eton MS. published by Schenkl is quite unreliable. It is unfortunate that Dr Klotz should, relying on Schenkl, have marred the general accuracy of his recent edition by ascribing readings to E which are not to be found in it, and by omitting a number of its readings which are of great importance.

H. W. GARROD.

## THE HEBREW VERB ברא "TO CREATE."

It is well known that in Biblical Hebrew the root ברא seems to have three distinct meanings, namely (1) *to create*, (2) *to clear* a forest, (3) *to be fat*. Of these the first is by far the most frequent; it appears in the *Kal*, the *Niphal*, and the noun בְּרִיאָה (Numb. xvi. 30). The second meaning appears only in the *Piel* (Josh. xvii. 15, 18), and the third only in the adjective בָּרִיא, which is fairly common. The forms בָּרִא (Ezek. xxi. 24, xxiii. 47) and לְהַבְרִיאֲכֶם (1 Sam. ii. 29) are too doubtful to be reckoned. Of these facts very different interpretations have been proposed. As a general rule, Hebraists were formerly inclined to derive all three meanings from one idea, while in recent times there has been a tendency to postulate the existence of two or more roots wholly unconnected with one another.

Thus Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, supposes that the original meaning of the root was "to cut," a hypothesis which might account for the first and the second of the above-mentioned significations, but scarcely for the third. It is not easy to believe, with Gesenius, that בָּרִיא "fat" is derived from the notion of "chopping" food. Moreover the theory that there once existed a verb ברא with the meaning "to cut" rests upon a very insecure foundation. It is true that in Arabic we find a verb بَرَى (Impf. يَبْرِى), which means, amongst other things, "to shape," "to pare" reed-pens, arrows, etc. But though a connection between بَرَى and ברא cannot be pronounced impossible, it must be remembered that such a change in the third radical letter would be at least unusual. Still less can we base an argument upon the Phœnician הברא, a word which occurs in a single inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Sem.* i. No. 347) and of which the sense is altogether uncertain.

In the *Hebrew Lexicon* edited by Brown, Driver and Briggs, two distinct roots are recognised, the first corresponding to the Arabic **بَرِيَ** and the second to **بَرِيَ** "to be free of a thing, sound, healthy." From the latter root the adjective **בָּרִיא** is supposed to be derived, while the other meanings of the Hebrew **בָּרָא** are explained as modifications of the idea "to cut."

The latest edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, published in 1899, postulates no less than three roots, (1) to create, (2) to be fat, (3) to clear. Of the first meaning no explanation is offered, the second is represented as akin to the Arabic verbs **وَرِيَ** and **بَرِيَ** (see under I **בָּרָא**), while the third is connected with **בָּר** "open country" (Job xxxix. 4), Aramaic *barrā*. Thus in no case is the Hebrew **בָּרָא** brought into relation with the Arabic **بَرِيَ**.

Dillmann, in his *Commentary on Genesis* (5th ed. 1886 p. 16 seq.), likewise refuses to admit that **בָּרָא** "to create" is connected with the notion of "cutting." He supposes that it originally meant "to set free," "to bring forth," but neither the Hebrew **בָּרַר** nor the Arabic **بَرَأَ**, to which he appeals, can be said to confirm this view. The Arabic **بَرَأَ** "to create," like the Aramaic **בָּרָא**, **ܒܪܐ**, appears to be a theological term borrowed from the Hebrew, and therefore throws no light upon the original meaning of the Hebrew root. The genuine Arabic sense of **بَرَأَ** or **بَرِيَ** is "to be exempt" from a thing, hence "to recover" from sickness, "to be free" from an obligation, "to be innocent" of a crime, etc. (in the two latter cases **بَرِيَ** alone seems to occur). It appears to me that if we start from this idea, the various usages of the Hebrew **בָּרָא** admit of being explained in accordance with ordinary analogies. The notion of "being free" from a thing may easily pass into that of "finishing," "accomplishing" it, and the change from the intransitive to the transitive usage agrees with such cases as **יָרָא**, **יָרַא** "to be afraid," construed sometimes with **מִן** and sometimes with the direct Object. Similarly the Arabic **عَزَبَ** "to

go away" is intransitive, while its Hebrew equivalent עזב "to forsake" is almost invariably transitive. The hypothesis that ברא "to create" properly means "to finish" will enable us to account for two facts which have often been noticed, but never satisfactorily explained. In the first place, ברא (unlike other verbs which express the idea of "making," e.g. עשה, יצר, בנה) is never construed with the so-called Accusative of the material. Secondly, the construction in Gen. ii. 3, אשר ברא, אלהים לעשות, rendered by Dillmann "welches machend er geschaffen hatte," is much more naturally interpreted as "which He had finished making."

That פרא, in Josh. xvii. 15, 18, may mean "to make free i.e. unoccupied" hardly needs to be stated. With regard to פריא the evidence is not so clear, since this word implies more than exemption from sickness. But since in Semitic countries the conditions of life render starvation a much more frequent cause of disease than it is with us, the connection between health and fatness is proportionately close.

A. A. BEVAN.

## SOME REMARKS ON THE LATER PLATONISM.

This paper is prompted by a certain criticism which I have more than once observed to be passed upon Dr Jackson's exposition of the later theory of ideas. Dr Jackson, as is well known, holds that Plato in the earlier stage of his philosophy postulated many Ideas which at a later time he rejected, e.g. *καλόν*, *δίκαιον*, *ἴσον*, and others. To this it is objected that we are thus left without an absolute standard of Beauty, Justice, and so forth: are we then to suppose that Plato abandoned his belief in absolute beauty and justice and left us to fall back on the unstable support of mere opinion in matters of such importance? I do not think it surprising that many should refuse to accept an interpretation of Platonism which appears to them to involve such a consequence.

To this criticism Dr Jackson has, so far as I know, never made a reply, at any rate in print. But although I believe the criticism to be mistaken, it seems to me *prima facie* perfectly reasonable and to demand an answer; especially as the answer requires from those who hold a view similar to that of Dr Jackson a somewhat more careful and definite statement of their position. How Dr Jackson himself would deal with the question I do not know: I merely propose in this article to attempt an answer from my own point of view.

First however I must remark in passing that in my judgment Dr Jackson has most seriously compromised his case by admitting ideas of the four so-called elements—an admission based on what I believe to be an erroneous interpretation of *Timaeus* 51 B. The postulation of such ideas I hold to be, both in logic and metaphysic, so radically unsound, so completely discordant with the key-note of Platonic ontology, that it is to me inconceivable that a metaphysician so profound, careful, and

consistent, as was Plato, should in one of his maturest works have entertained a moment's thought of them. Nor is this all: if we recognise ideas of the four elements, we have no longer any logical ground for excluding ἕσον, δίκαιον and the rest. The line must be drawn above the four elements, or not at all; and so any attempt to interpret Platonism as a scheme of monistic idealism is hopeless. In a former number of this journal I gave some reasons which were sufficient to convince me that ideas of the four elements were impossible, indeed unmeaning: and though more might be said on the matter, it is not my present intention to supplement the arguments I then used; my object is merely to show, if I can, that in abandoning the ideas rejected by Dr Jackson (to which I add those of the four elements), we do not thereby sacrifice a background of stability in the case of those attributes and phenomena for which we formerly postulated ideas.

We may begin by distinguishing four classes of these: (1) καλόν, ὑγιεινόν, κτλ. (physical attributes); (2) δίκαιον, ὅσιον, κτλ. (moral attributes); (3) ἕσον, διπλάσιον, κτλ. (relations); (4) the four so-called elements. Now I take it for certain that Plato went on to the end believing in an absolute standard of Beauty and of Justice, and that even relations are furnished with a stable basis in his philosophy: while he himself declares that there is such a thing as πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. Where then, if not to Ideas, are we to look for this underlying stability? To the Ideal Theory beyond doubt, though not to ideas of καλόν, δίκαιον, ἕσον, πῦρ.

At this point it will be well to state precisely what I conceive Plato to mean by the term 'Idea.' As I read the *Timæus*, he teaches that the primal unity of τοῦς pluralises itself in a series of finite intelligences in a gradually descending scale, from the divine souls of the heavenly bodies to the faintest forms of vitality which are to be found in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. And to each of these grades of soul there is an appropriate bodily form, wherewith every soul belonging to that rank is invested. Accordingly each of these groups of finite souls constitutes (if the phrase may be pardoned) so much of the primal soul as is pluralised in that particular class of

soul; and the body which belongs to each soul included in that group is a material representation of that primal soul, that universal vital force, pluralising itself within the limits of that group: in other words, it is the mode in which the senses apprehend the primal *νοῦς* so far as it is existent as a certain group of finite intelligences. Therefore by the Idea of Man we mean the primal *νοῦς* as existing in the form of human souls and sensibly represented by human bodies. Thus, I conceive, we have a clear and definite understanding of what is denoted by the word Idea: it is the supreme Idea or Mind as pluralised in a group of sentient beings, to which we apply such names as man, horse, beech, moss, and such-like. The Supreme Mind, regarded as externalising itself in the whole *κόσμος*, is the Supreme Idea: the same Supreme Mind, regarded as externalising itself in some specific group of finite intelligences, is a special Idea.

But what are we to understand by the Idea of the Beautiful? There is no group of souls to which we apply Beautiful as the generic name, nor any group of bodies of which Beautiful is the *τί ἐστι*. This is manifestly on a different plane: we have passed from the category of Substance to that of Quality. We cannot then say that there is an Idea of Beauty in the same sense as we say there is an Idea of Roses. And I am sure it would conduce to clearness of thinking, as well as of expression, if we refused to admit such a phrase as Idea of the Beautiful, reserving the term Idea to substances only. But this is not equivalent to saying that there is no fixed standard of the Beautiful, or that there is no such thing as absolute Beauty. We are here limiting the denotation of the word to its strictly legitimate sense of physical beauty. Now physical beauty, as we know, Plato holds to depend on symmetry or proportion: this at least is its immediate physical cause or *συμμεταίτιον*. But that which ultimately constitutes beauty is resemblance to the Idea: it is truth and accuracy in the sensible presentation of the Idea. For instance, a beautiful woman is not a copy of the Idea of Humanity and of the Idea of Beauty: rather she is a faithful copy of the Idea of Humanity; in other words, she resembles the Idea; she does not resemble both the Idea and

the resemblance to the Idea. Thus there is such a thing as a fixed standard of the Beautiful: it is the Idea corresponding to the beautiful particular, whatever this may be—woman, horse, or rose: and there is such a thing as absolute beauty, assuming the possibility of a perfectly accurate material representation of the Idea, to the full extent in which an Idea can be materially represented. In brief, there is an immutable standard of beauty: but that standard is to be found, not in the Idea of Beauty, but in the Idea of the particular living creature, which is beautiful just in so far as it faithfully represents the Idea.

What has been said about *καλόν* applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to *δίκαιον* and its coordinates. As beauty consists in physical resemblance to the Idea—that is to say, in a faithful material representation of the Idea—so justice consists in moral resemblance to the Idea; or, in the language of the *Theaetetus*, *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ*. A man is just when he acts according to the dictates of pure reason, of which he has a share, or rather of which he is a part: injustice is aberration from the dictates of pure reason and consequent shortcoming in resemblance to the Idea. Perhaps we might say that, in the case of moral excellence, we look upon it primarily not so much as a matter of assimilating a copy to its type, but of harmonising a part with the whole. Absolute mind can never swerve from the way of perfect reason, nor in consequence from that of perfect righteousness: and when in the individual *νοῦς*, which is the soul in her own essence, has undisputed supremacy, the action of the particular soul is, like the action of the universal soul, *ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιστον*. We see again that an Idea of Justice is not only unnecessary, but unmeaning: how could there be a substantial Idea of obedience to reason? Whosoever is beautiful and just is so by virtue of resemblance, physical and moral, to the Idea of Humanity.

Relations, such as *ἴσον*, are, if possible, still further removed from substantiality. We said that beauty (1) consists in resemblance to the Idea, (2) depends upon proportion and symmetry. Now proportion and symmetry consist in relations which are reducible to mathematical ratios. If a thing is symmetrical, some of its parts will no doubt be equal to other

parts, and some parts will have to other parts diverse but always definite ratios: hence we have need of such terms as equal and double, and phrases expressive, in endless variety, of other numerical ratios. But because a man has his legs of equal length, he is none the more a copy of the Idea of Equality: his legs will be of equal length if he correctly represents the Idea of Humanity: equality and the other ratios are but the mathematical laws subject to which that representation is effected. Ideas of relation would be ideas of the *modus operandi* whereby the resemblance to its own Idea is worked out in the particular. These relations are mathematical, and from mathematics derive their fixity: not but that mathematical law derives its constancy from ontology: for the primal *νοῦς* is changeless; wherefore its evolution into matter is regular, and the laws that govern that evolution are constant.

There is another class of relations, such as great and small, of which in the imperfectly matured metaphysic of the *Phaedo* we find ideas. These however we may dismiss with scant ceremony; since it is manifest that here there neither is nor can be any fixed standard at all: so that in abandoning Ideas of such, we are not called upon to look for any substitute.

Finally we come to the four so-called elements. That the recognition of essential ideas of these involves elementary errors in logic and fundamental confusion in metaphysic, of which it is inconceivable that the mature Plato could be guilty—of this I feel not the shadow of a doubt. And yet Plato unhesitatingly affirms that there is *πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ*. How then is this to be understood? and of what nature is the fixity thus postulated?

In my endeavour to reply to this question I fear I shall be forced to go over some of the ground I have already travelled in a former article: here however it is with a different object in view; my present purpose being affirmation rather than negation.

The primal *νοῦς*, as has been said, evolves itself into a number of finite intelligences of various ranks. Each of these intelligences, being differentiated from the primal *νοῦς*, of necessity is invested with a material body. Thus comes about the material evolution of *νοῦς*, which is twofold: (1) the cosmic

body, (2) the bodies of stars, of men and other animals, and of vegetable creatures. Now νοῦς is constant and unchangeable; therefore its material evolution must have plan and regularity. Accordingly, when these bodies are analysed into their simplest attainable constituents, we find (or rather we affirm) that their structure is built up of four kinds of regular geometrical figures. Besides being constituent particles of organic living bodies, these four geometrical figures exist also in what are from our point of view inorganic masses, to which we give the names of fire, air, water, and earth. I say from our point of view: for these are not really inorganic masses, but portions of the organised body of the ὁρατὸς κόσμος. These 'elements' then are the determinate mode in which νοῦς materialises itself in corporeal organisms: they do not indeed themselves represent Ideas, but they are the way in which bodies are constructed which do represent Ideas. And in saying that they do not represent Ideas, we do not therefore say they have no fixed realities behind them, because they constitute the immutable law which governs the structure of living bodies. Their fixity, like that of the numerical ratios, is mathematical: though in this case too we must fall back upon ontology for the ultimate basis. Thus I conceive Plato's statement, ἔστι πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, is fully borne out: these four elements are no mere hap-hazard appearances, but the expression of undeviating laws: fire is one of the modes in which νοῦς effects its own materialisation. No Idea can materialise itself without the help of these modes; but we neither require nor can admit an Idea of the mode of materialisation.

To sum up: of our four classes represented by (α) καλόν, (β) δίκαιον, (γ) ἴσον, (δ) the four elements, α and β indicate assimilation to the Idea, γ the law governing assimilation, δ the law governing the materialisation of the Idea. All four are amply provided with a fixed standard, without the postulation of an Idea corresponding to any member of any one of the four classes: so that, without any sacrifice of stability, we can restrict the essential Ideas within those limits which are prescribed by logical and ontological verity, viz. the various classes of ζῶντα.

Accordingly I am persuaded that Dr Jackson is justified in denying ideas to the first three classes, and would have been more abundantly justified, had he gone a step further and denied them to the fourth.

It would seem then that we ought to recognise the Idea not only as the cause and prototype of its material and moral similitudes, but also as the standard by which the faithfulness of those similitudes is measured. Also it would seem that in the third and fourth classes of those above set forth we are to look not for causes and prototypes, but merely for ways and means, *ξυμμεταίτια*, and for the fixed laws which govern the material presentation of Mind. For, as the Socrates of the *Phaedo* says, τὸ μὴ διελέσθαι οἷόν τ' εἶναι ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν τί ἐστι τὸ αἴτιον τῷ ὄντι, ἄλλο δὲ ἐκείνο ἄνευ οὗ τὸ αἴτιον οὐκ ἂν ποτ' εἴη αἴτιον. If however from old association we still cling to such phrases as Idea of the Beautiful, we ought heedfully to bear in mind that we are using the term Idea in a totally different sense from that which it bears in the phrase Idea of a Rose. And it seems to me that it would be more conducive to clearness of thought if we denoted two different things by two different names.

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.